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JULY 8, 1977

NATIONAL REVIEW

THE NUCLEAR TEST BAN:

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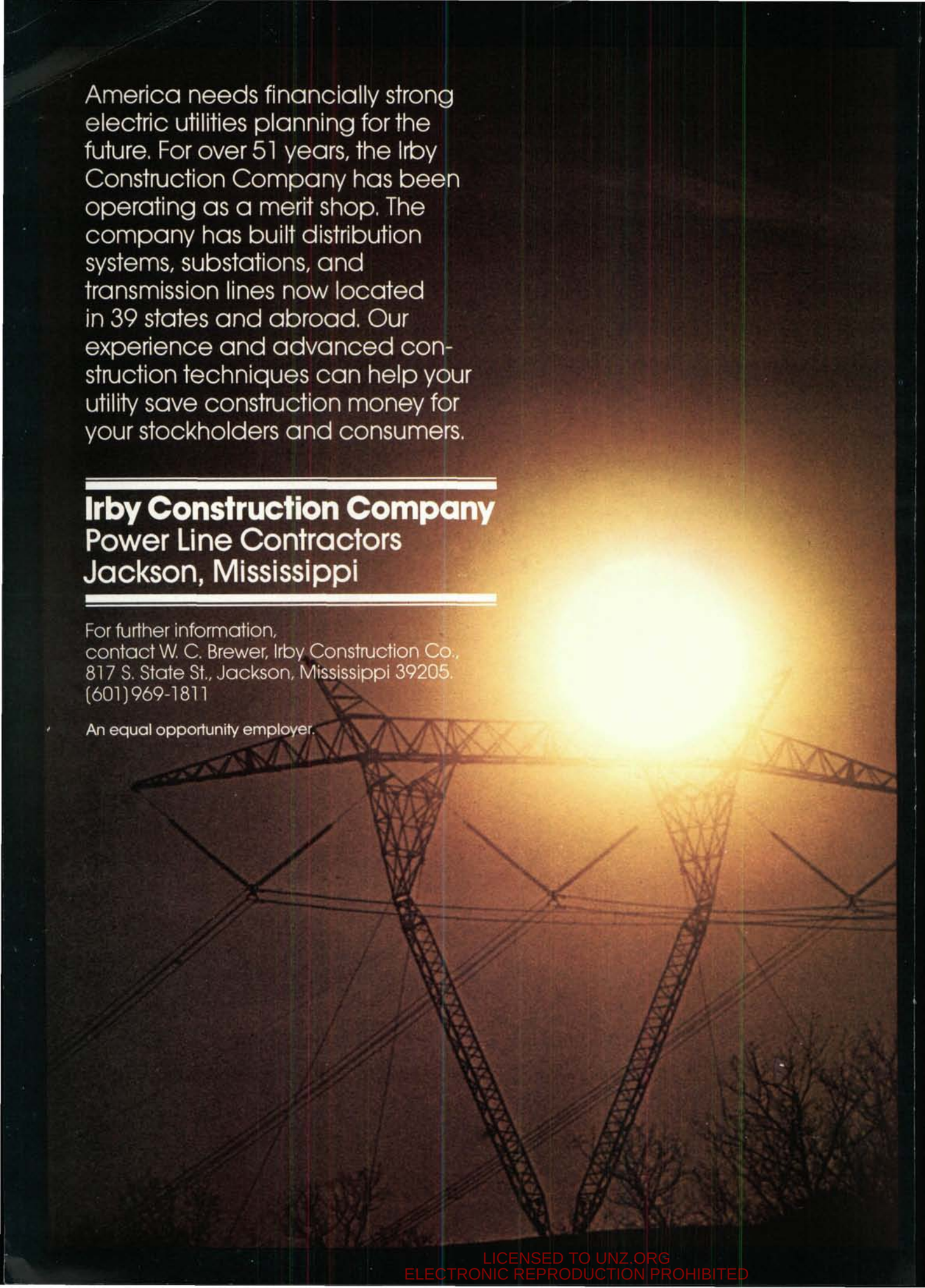

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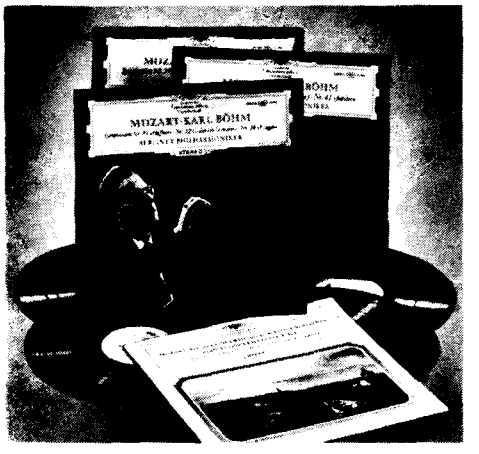

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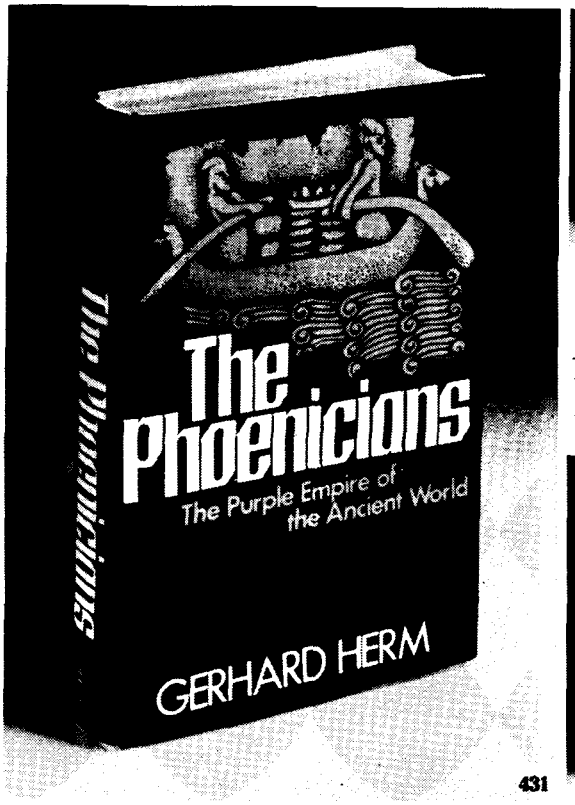

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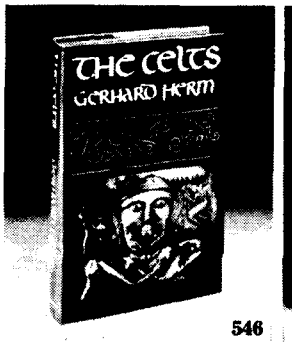

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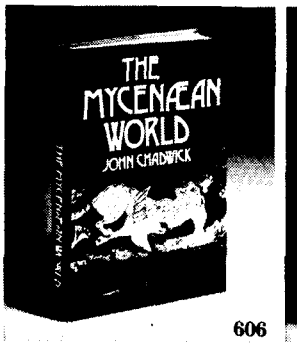

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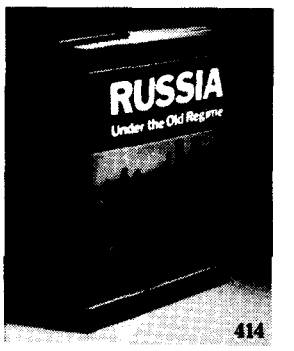

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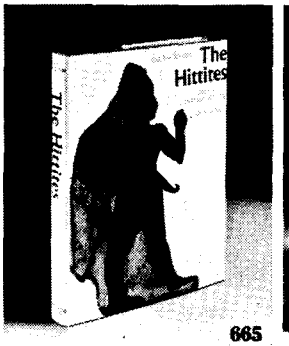

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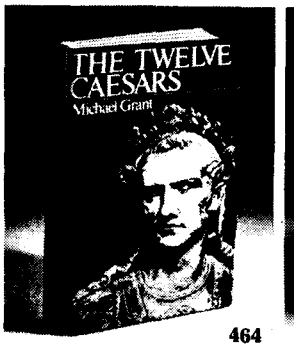

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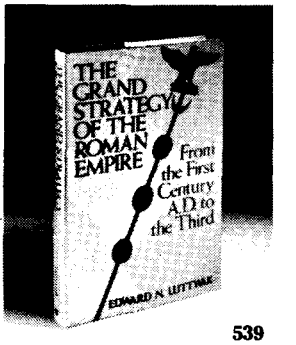

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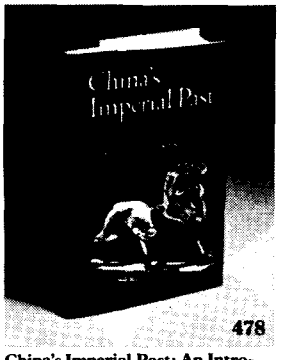

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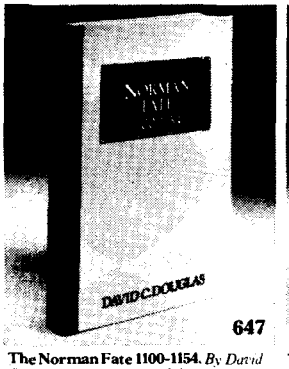

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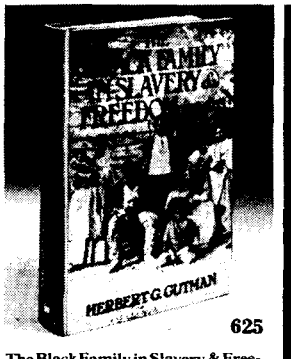

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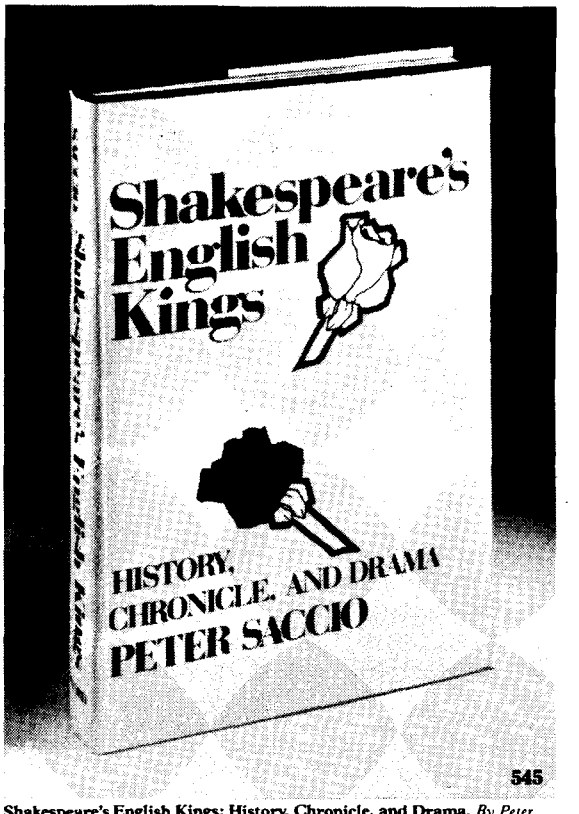

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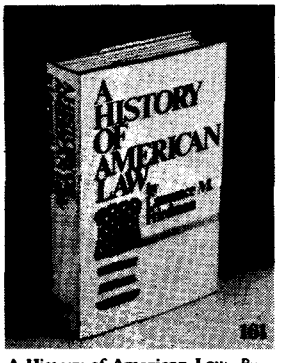

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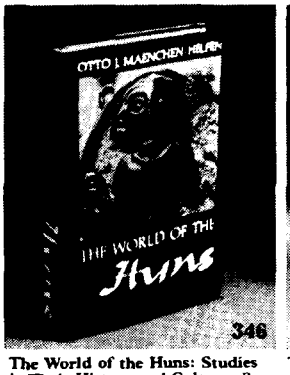

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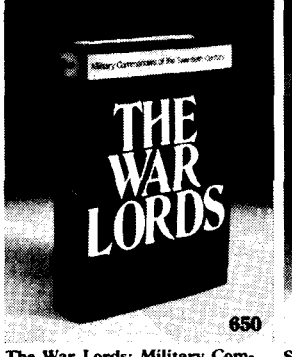

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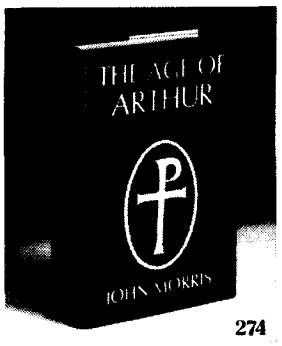

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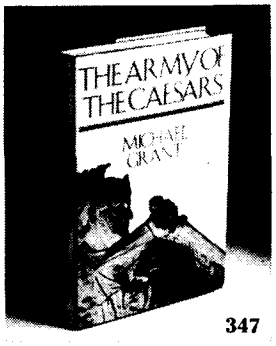

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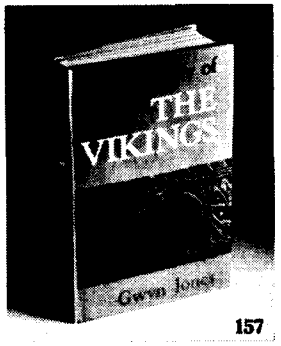

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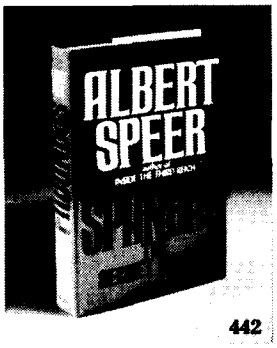

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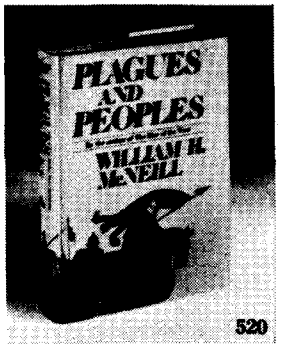

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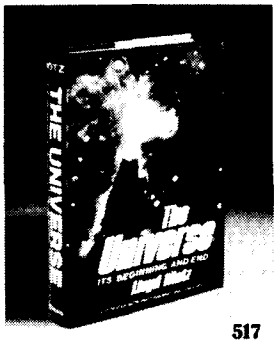

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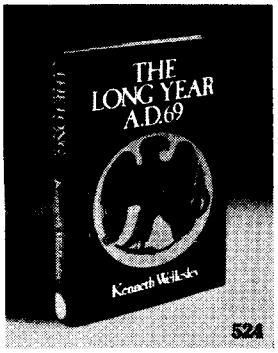

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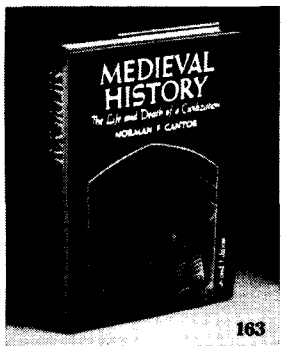

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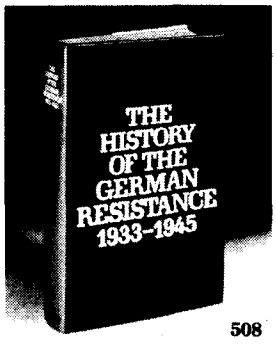

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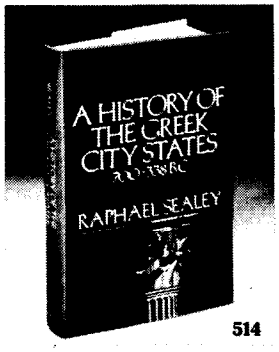

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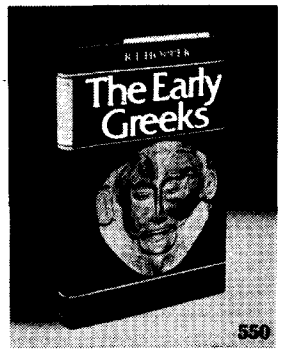

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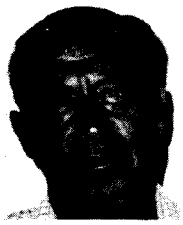

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Cover photo by Jan Lukas

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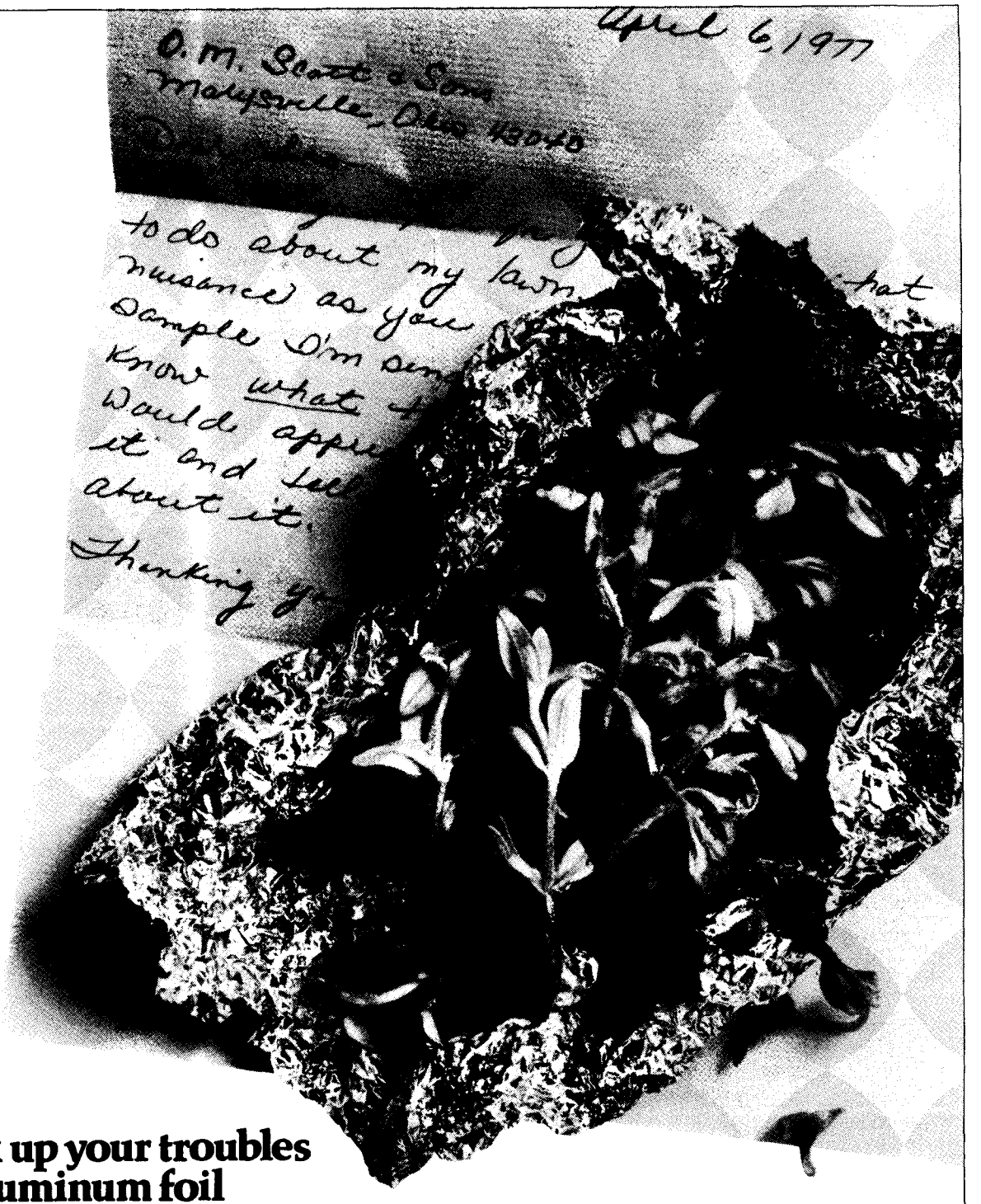

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Letters

Legislating Common Sense

How refreshing to read M. J. Sobran Jr. on the uses and abuses of the First Amendment ["I Say Lock 'Em Up, Spank Them, and Send Them Home," June 24]. His is an argument that can't be made too often (well, no, I suppose it *could*; but it's not likely to be, given the Zeitgeist), especially when, as here, it's free of that cringe-making I-haven't-gone-to-a-movie-in-ten-years-because-of-the-language-they-use rhetoric. (Although I did find Mr. Sobran's crack about *Ulysses* more than a little cavalier.)

What Mr. Sobran never explicitly says —although his argument seems to imply it—is that what guarantees "free speech" is the civility of a civil society, not the words of the First Amendment, and not the vigilance of Warren Beatty and William O. Douglas. If everyone, or at least a very substantial majority, is agreed to be civil, then only the most general guidelines for permissible public behavior are needed; if enough individuals—let alone the government—are inclined to abuse the common consensus one way or the other, in the direction either of propagating pornography or of suppressing legitimate free speech, then no collection of safeguards (look at the Soviet constitution) can protect it. In free speech, as in matters of public safety, as in questions of who must be hired or admitted to a university, the more government feels the need to codify, the less good the codification will do.

Philadelphia, Pa. VINCENT MOUNTFORD

Banning the Bomb

James Burnham, in "Why Disarmament?" [April 29], discusses the fallaciousness of two commonly accepted purposes of disarmament negotiations: promoting peace and reducing the size of military budgets. But I think there is yet another reason disarmament negotiations are popular: people would like to do away with "scary" weapons like atomic bombs; they're much more comfortable with old friends like machine guns, tanks, and airplanes. They hope that disarmament negotiations will "ban the bomb" and let us go back to fighting good old-fashioned wars like the ones on the late movies.

Madrid, Spain R. M. WERNICKE

Striking Sparks

My article, fumes Commissioner O'Hagan ["The Open Question," June 24], is replete with error, a charge which he attempts to document point by point. Let's take a look at a few of his paragraphs: 1) *I* cited the 1970 fires; I told, but he does not, how the two men died. He says there have been subsequent fires. I never denied that, and that very fact supports the ultimate point, which is: The more fires there have been *with no loss of life*, the more we have to conclude that the buildings are safe for people as they are now —i.e., without O'Hagan's law. It may be that if the landlords spent as much as O'Hagan would like them to, they could fireproof the pencils and the Kleenexes—but they would not appreciably lower the danger to life; and the rationale for Local Law 5 was precisely that danger.

His points 2 and 3 suggest only that there are—who doubts it?—tame landlords around and people who simply haven't the time or the inclination to fight City Hall. True, bankruptcies haven't yet swept the city, but then O'Hagan's law was found unconstitutional.

4. Somewhere in the world a functioning pressurized stairway system may exist, but its design was not the one tested in New York City, or written into Local Law 5. The judge looked at O'Hagan's system and concluded that it was likely to make a dangerous condition more dangerous.

5. O'Hagan considers neither the constitutional issue nor the danger to the fire wardens. The judge did.

6. If the building he speaks of had been full of people, disaster would have been even less likely to have ensued: someone would have told the Fire Department where the fire was—unless that's against Local Law 5 too.

Fire safety laws—all safety laws for that matter—have to be reasonable. This one simply wasn't.

Now back to my harpsichord.

Greenwich, Conn. DANIEL OLIVER

The Survival of Spain

Re Robert Moss's article on Spain ["The Rocky Road to Democracy," June 10], it should be noted that Eurocommunism is just plain Communism . . . modernized. And modernized to the tune of the brilliant if abstruse Italian Marxist theorist Antonio Gramsci, who believed that the dictatorship of the proletariat was out, the copping of the "media" and culture was in. Moss gives perfect examples.

Nobody today should forget Gramsci or his capitalist counterpart, the great Joseph Schumpeter. Eurocommunism knows that it will triumph only when the West crowns Ubu King, with Caliban as Premier.

FEDERICO MASSOT

Bahía Blanca, Argentina

Just a postscript to the Robert Moss article on Spain's pursuit of that *ignis fatuus*, democracy. When Spain's defeated Communist regime fled to Russia in 1939, it

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"NO RECRIMINATIONS" OVER VIETNAM?

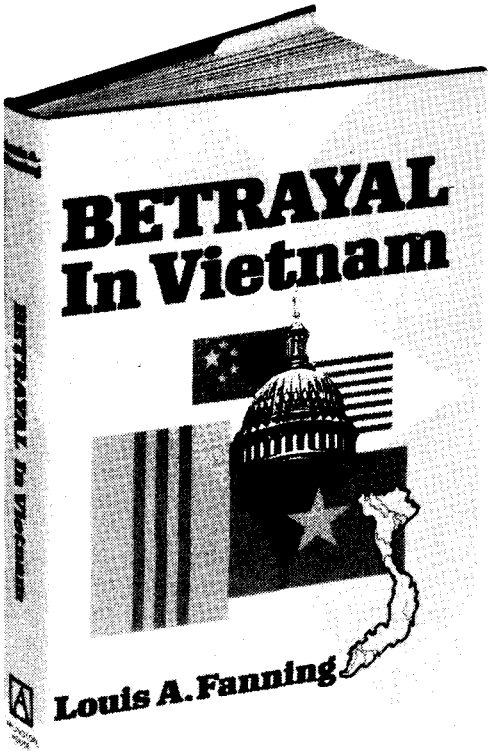
THEN THE GUILTY ONES WILL GET AWAY WITH IT

Until the spring of 1975, America had never lost a war. Then something went wrong in Vietnam. With cynical disregard for the Paris peace accords, North Vietnamese and Vietcong troops swept through the South and closed in on Saigon. Tuning in channel after channel on their television sets, Americans saw the death of our ally in living color. Pitiful South Vietnamese clung to the undercarriages of U.S. helicopters — anything to escape the murderous Communists. Meanwhile, "compassionate" liberal politicians here in the States watched coldly.

Why did it happen? Where were the vaunted South Vietnamese army and air force? Why did nearly a million soldiers give up?

The answer does not lie in Asiatic corruption, maintains Louis A. Fanning. Nor in the alleged superiority of the Communist war machine. Vietnam was lost by the United States Congress.

Professor Fanning shows how, shortly after President Nixon took office, a small group of determined Democrats launched a campaign to undercut his Vietnam policy. Over 50,000 Americans lives were sacrificed to preserve freedom in South Vietnam. But a handful of leftists rallied a majority of their own party in Congress, along with a clutch of renegade Republicans, and crippled our military effort—shackling Southeast Asia to Communist slavery.



HOW THE WAR WAS LOST AT HOME

- Averell Harriman: he "swapped some of the greatest military concessions in history for an agreement on the shape of a bargaining table"
- How Senator Fulbright rigged the hearings of the Foreign Relations Committee
- Congressman lashes out at John Wayne — for producing *The Green Berets*
- Senator Cranston accuses American servicemen of raping little girls
- LBJ Defense Secretary Clark Clifford: his stunning about-face
- How Hanoi manipulated Western newsmen
- Ramsey Clark says not to worry: our POWs get "excellent" treatment
- Fred Harris delivers a message to a secret caucus of congressional liberals
- Tom Hayden and Jane Fonda conduct a seminar on "U.S. imperialism"—*in a congressional hearing room*
- "Political prisoners" in South Vietnam: the real story
- How the liberals delivered their knockout blow—against our own allies

"No recriminations!" cry the liberals. Many Americans will see it differently, after this book.

WHAT MADE THEM ALL TURN TAIL?

Senator Edward M. Kennedy (D., Mass.): "Do we want to defend freedom? We do, because this is our commitment, our heritage, our destiny" (speech at Lowell Technological Institute, November 1965).

Senator George McGovern (D., S. D.): "Actually, North Vietnam cannot benefit any more than South Vietnam from a prolonged conflict. I would hope that we would be prepared to wage such a conflict rather than surrender the area to Communism" (*Congressional Record*, January 15, 1965).

Senator Jacob Javits (R., N.Y.): "I think we must defend freedom in that area, or else see the balance of a large segment of the world tipped against freedom" (*Congressional Record*, August 6, 1964).

Senator Birch Bayh (D., Ind.): "There can be little question that if we are to turn tail and run, the entire Southeast Asia area...would come under Communist domination....We are dealing with Communist conspirators who frankly make no bones about the fact that they desire to conquer the world" (*Congressional Record*, March 16, 1965).

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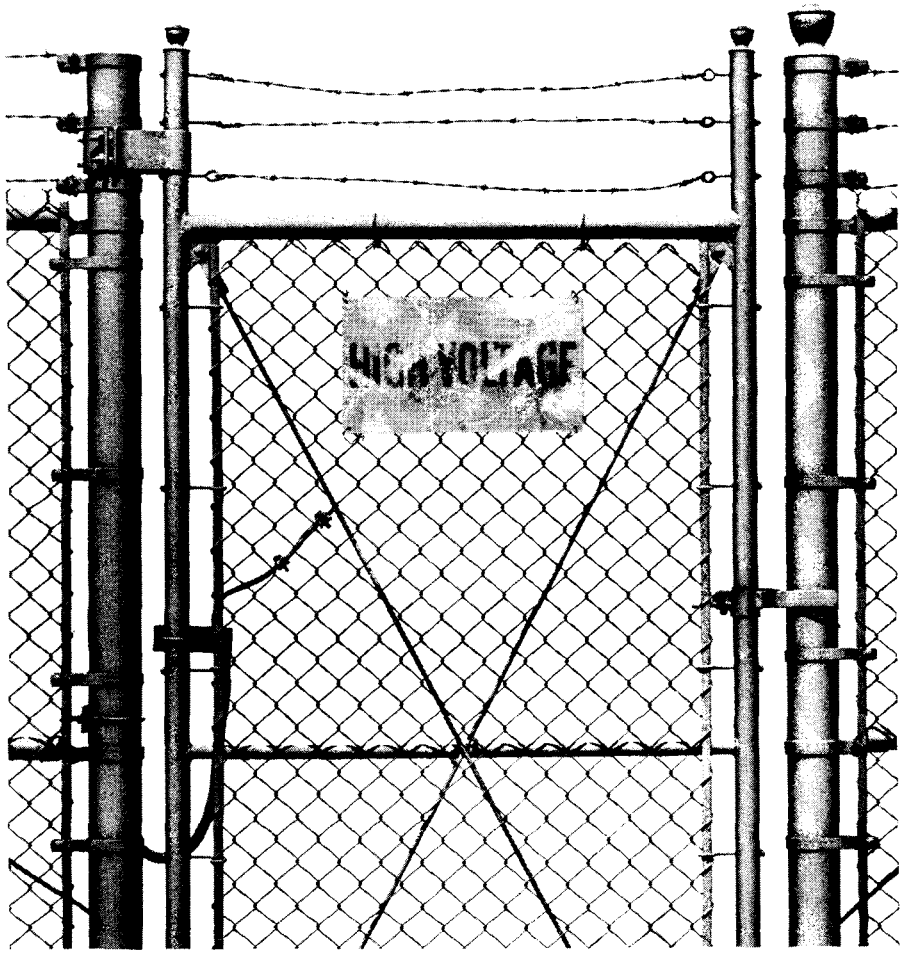

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took along some 420 tons of gold (the nation's monetary reserve), together with some 8,000 youths who were trained to infiltrate their own and other Spanish-speaking lands to make the world safe for Communism, with the Kremlin as its *pontifex maximus.* As to that virago known as La Pasionaria, her passionate diatribes were directed to inciting the torture and murder of hundreds of priests, nuns, and other religious and the destruction of hundreds of churches and church-related institutions.

In the middle and late Thirties, our mass communications media and the fonts of education were anti-Nazi and anti-Fascist as they should have been, but rarely anti-Communist. Put this tendency together with the nominally illegal Abraham Lincoln Brigade—which provided the stuff of popular fiction—and history is forged. I'd like to see some of James Burnham's recollections of that era.

Let us pray that the way Spain went on June 15 is the way the rest of free Europe will go in the immediate years ahead.

St. Louis, Mo. H. B. WINKELER

She Thinks She Can

We are very appreciative of Professor Russell Kirk's favorable comments about the Open Court basic readers ["From the Academy," May 27].

If I can be forgiven a quibble, the Little Engine That Could has always been feminine in gender, and Open Court made no change in this regard.

LaSalle, Ill. HOWARD R. WEBBER
Vice President & General Manager
Open Court Publishing Company

Fair Exchange

You mention Representative Koch's suggestion that the U.S. offer to swap its own political prisoners for the Vietnamese, only to shoot it down by saying: "A hell of an idea, except that we don't have 300,000 political prisoners handy" ["The Week," Jan. 21].

Not so fast! I, for one, remember my radical friends repeatedly insisting that most if not all American prison inmates are nothing but "victims of the system's oppression" and, therefore, in a real sense, political prisoners. So, let us simply offer to send 300,000 of our best murderers, muggers, rapists, robbers, arsonists, extortionists, and other victims of capitalist oppression to socialist Vietnam, in exchange for the inmates of their "re-education" camps.

In fact, it would be highly desirable if this idea could be worked into an ongoing arrangement with the Soviet Union and other Communist states as well. On what consistent grounds could the Communists object? And as for us, I think we should be glad to relinquish our Hurricane Carters and Richard Specks in return for their Vladimir Bukovskys and Simas Kudirkas.

South Boston, Mass. MYKOLAS J. DRUNGA

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Somebody's There

Your magazine gives us the vital story that Bukovsky tells [April 1]; elsewhere, this story goes untold. A month later, your magazine reveals the tragedies of postwar Vietnam; with one exception, other journals leave this critical matter unbroached.

I am reminded of a scene from the musical *1776* in which John Adams painfully, quizzically reads aloud a portion of General Washington's letter to the Continental Congress: " . . . is anybody there? Does anybody care?" Thank God for what you do, and for the way you do it.

T. Coleman Andrews III
Richmond, Va.

Thanks so much for the eternal vigilance of Le Thi Anh [April 29]. We are alerted to the fact that we must ever be so.

Severance, N.Y. Paul Crear

Hollywood Speaks Up

We subscribers who work in the movie business are already a minority within a minority, so the stuff *NR* prints about movies isn't very helpful. You might say it increases our sense of isolation.

"As Kenner notes, the movie's [*King Kong*'s] special effects man was inspired by the engravings of Gustave Doré" ["Letters," April 1].

Well sirs, special effects men are technicians. They have nothing whatever to do with the visual ideas—only with the execution, via miniatures, action-props, traveling mattes, etc. The Art Directors of *Kong*, pressed to admit Doré's influence, were insulted.

The question as to whether *Kong* himself was Satan or Adam seems piquant enough. But the local savants all say the real model was Caliban. You didn't think we knew, hey?

Even M. J. Sobran Jr., normally a rational fellow, reviewed [April 1] not quite the movie *Slap Shot*, but the *Newsweek* review of it instead. So he missed the point of the movie's obvious innocence and its simple moral-drawing: Ends don't justify means. Like *Newsweek* and Rona Barrett and the Gay spokesmen, he got bogged down in a fruitless examination of the dirtiness of dirty words and wound up seeing as a muddle what was only a moral.

Beverly Hills, Calif. Saul David

Science and the Bible: Rebuttals

E. J. Nilsson ["Letters," Feb. 18] speaks of "increasing numbers of 'creationist' scientists who say that Genesis is more 'scientific' than evolution"—itself a contradiction in terms, for the words "creationist" and "scientist" are mutually exclusive.

A standard fable of the creationists, dutifully recited by Nilsson, is that "not a single transitional form has ever been found between vertebrates and invertebrates." Unfortunately for their argument, the record of transition between vertebrates and invertebrates is continuous and complete, and is shown by a new branch of science, molecular evolution. The amino acid sequences in protein molecules, and the nucleotide sequences in molecules of DNA and RNA, provide an unbroken record of the evolutionary divergence of all species on earth from a common ancestor. For example, a comparison of the sequences of the alpha and beta chains of hemoglobin, present in a single drop of human blood, shows that this pair of molecules diverged from a gene duplication that occurred at a point in time preceding the existence of the common ancestor of human beings and bony fishes. Molecules in *E. coli* cells, isolated from our digestive tracts, provide evidence satisfying to modern biologists that mammals and their intestinal bacteria evolved from a single ancestral organism.

Nilsson's statement that "the sedimentary strata in the earth's crust . . . were laid down catastrophically, in about a year, in the Flood" is unembellished nonsense.

Berkeley, Calif. Thomas H. Jukes

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Pruning as a means to more nearly perfect wines.

To us, pruning—the cutting off of parts of the grapevine during the winter dormant period—is the single most important practice in the entire culture of grapes.

It is a complex and highly judgmental operation that not only controls the amount of crop our vines will bear, but also controls the quality of the ultimate contribution that crop will make to our wines.

That is why, we do not consider a man thoroughly experienced until he has been pruning for at least three years.

Why We Prune

The whole purpose of pruning is to direct our vines to grow fewer but better grapes—grapes of optimum maturity and with the full potential of their variety.

Vines which produce too many grapes—a condition called overcropping—can lead to a thin, watery wine.

A carefully pruned vine will produce grapes that have acid and sugar contents in perfect balance, and their wine will be full-bodied, deep and brilliant in color, and with a bouquet that is true to the grape.

Our Unique Next Step

Sometimes, despite judicious pruning, a vine will overproduce anyway—perhaps because of optimum conditions for exceptional fruitfulness, or because it did not produce as much as it should have in the previous year.

In such a case, we resort to thinning.

Thinning involves the actual removal of whole grape clusters from the vine—the sacrificing of a part of our crop in order to ensure the quality of the rest.

Sometimes this can mean removing as much as one-third the crop from an overproducing vine in order to maintain vine vigor. Or all of it, if we wish to give the vine a rest to regain its vigor.

Gallo, we might point out, is one of the very few wineries to practice this costly technique of thinning in order to produce only the best possible wine grapes.

How We Prune

Pruning is basically an art. And over the years we have developed techniques that we believe provide the best possible results of that art.

We began researching and establishing our pruning practices in the 1940's.

At that time, every single variety of grape was given its own program to determine the best method of pruning for that particular vine.

As a result of our tests, we have established some general rules.

One, is that on each spur—that part of the new wood which remains after pruning—we never leave more than two buds for future growth. This ensures optimum grape quality.

We do, however, vary the number of spurs on each vine. This depends on the variety.

For example, the Chenin Blanc and Ruby Cabernet vines are allowed not more than twelve spurs, the French Colombard fourteen, and the Barbera ten.

In general, the varieties having larger grapes and grape clusters are left with fewer spurs so as not to tax them beyond their capacities, and the varieties having smaller grapes and grape clusters are left with more.

Who Prunes

Because so much depends on the judgment of our pruners—in addition to how much to cut, at what angle, and which wood—we treat their training very seriously.

At first, a beginner is only allowed to watch. Then he is permitted to work only when an experienced man is watching him. And finally, before working independently, he must work under a foreman.

That is why, as mentioned earlier, it is usually three years before we consider him a thoroughly experienced pruner.

Our Goal

Obviously, the reason we here at the Gallo Vineyards are so particular about pruning is the direct relationship it has with wine quality.

Our experience is that excellent wines can only be made from excellent grapes, and that perfect wines require perfect grapes.

Therefore, because our goal is to make the finest wines possible—to give you pleasure by bringing you only the fullest perfection of flavor, taste and bouquet—we are totally committed to growing and using only the best quality grapes.

That insistence on perfection, really, is the basic principle to which we have dedicated our wine-making lives.

Gallo Vineyards, Modesto, California

Galileo, like most human beings, was not a saint, but Patrick O'Neil's letter about him [Feb. 18] is rather a counterdistortion. Galileo's early confrontations seem to have produced the understanding that he would not "advocate" the Copernican theories. He evaded this restriction by a stratagem which was somewhat legalistic, but not then uncommon: the disputants in his dialogue presented several points of view, then accepted Catholic doctrine on the final pages. However, Galileo, sensing the scientific drift of the future, was perhaps trying too hard to overcome the inertia of the Church; and he was not only a scientist of great gifts, he was also a better polemicist than most opponents. These opponents, not Galileo, invoked the forces of physical coercion to resolve a dispute on important intellectual issues; they produced a document without official standing asserting Galileo's commitment not to "teach" the Copernican theories. However Galileo, before his trial, acted like someone who had bent the rules, but not broken them. There is no evidence that he enjoyed his martyrdom, its effect on the Catholic Church, or its effect on the history of science.

White Plains, N.Y. JOHN S. LAW

Saturday Night in Calabasas

I address myself to the remarks that the UCLA math professor, David Sánchez ["Letters," April 1], made about Thomas Aquinas College:

1. I thank the kindly professor for his concern over the running of our "juices" on Saturday nights in Calabasas. While our remote location restricts our enjoyment of L.A.'s cultural highlights, we do take advantage of the entertainments that are available to us. And I am pleased to report that we have done so without serious jeopardy to the constitution of our humors.

2. For the past four years, I have been learning quite profitably "at the feet of great men": Plato and Aristotle in philosophy; Euclid, Descartes, Lobachevsky, and Einstein in mathematics; St. Augustine and St. Thomas in theology; Galileo and Newton in physics; and the masters of literature and history: Homer, Cicero, Plutarch, Dante, Shakespeare, Cervantes, and Tocqueville, to name a few. Whatever wise men may be found at New Haven, Chicago, or Berkeley, somehow I do not feel short-changed.

3. While the College admittedly, after graduating two classes, has yet to produce a Rhodes or Fulbright scholar, it has sent its students to leading institutions for advanced study: McGeorge and Notre Dame in law, UC Davis in biology, the University of Indiana in the history of science, UCLA in business administration, and several other universities in philosophy.

Criticizing articles is one thing, Professor Sánchez; taking potshots at innocent bystanders is quite another.

Calabasas, Calif. KEVIN G. LONG

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FOR THE RECORD

■ Add to the running debate over whether **Jimmy Carter** really means what **Andy Young** has been saying, this datum from last November's Carter *Playboy* interview. *Q.* "Aren't there any examples of things you did that weren't absolutely right?" *A.* "There are a lot of those in my life. . . . It might be that now I should drop my campaign for President and start a crusade for black majority rule for South Africa and Rhodesia." . . . In Washington, the recent **Scotty Reston** column sharply criticizing Young is taken to mean that Young is *persona non grata* with the professional foreign service. . . . Two-thirds of the American people, according to a recent **Harris** poll, think that Andy Young "talks too much"; 48 per cent think he has made too many statements that offend other countries. . . . *Christian Science Monitor* concludes, after surveying **middle class sentiment** in the Midwest, that Carter's support is soft there; that middle class people tend to think Carter's energy program taxes are intended to "soak them" in favor of the poor. . . . **U.S. Chamber of Commerce** estimates that Carter's energy program (minus the standby gasoline tax, which is unlikely to be enacted) will cost American taxpayers $200 billion in the next decade.

■ The campaigns against nuclear arms and nuclear plants are going into high gear. The Task Force for a Nuclear Test Ban (see article p. 770)—that old gang of theirs, **Norman Cousins**, **Sanford Gottlieb**, **George McGovern**, **Arthur Larson**, **Bella Abzug**, **Allard Lowenstein**—has petitioned Carter to "declare that the United States will cease all further nuclear testing . . . as long as the Soviet Union exercises similar restraint." . . . **Ralph Nader** has collected over half a million signatures urging Congress to ban the licensing of all new nuclear power plants. . . . On the far Left: the **National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee** has called for the abolition of the FBI as an agency "too thoroughly saturated with the corruption of power to permit adequate cleansing." . . . And the astonished, staid New York Radio City Music Hall found itself picketed, at the opening of the movie *MacArthur*, by some regulars—the U.S. Out of Korea Committee of Youth against War and Fascism, the Union of Democratic Thais, the Union of Democratic Filipinos, and, if you please—the Higher Ground Cinema. . . . Blossoming in New York's West Village, **Anita Bryant** posters: Wanted for Crimes against Humanity.

Langdon, *Punch* Rothco

"What's our premium rate for insuring against the nationalization of insurance?"

■ *Stopped:* AFL-CIO Secretary **Lane Kirkland** says labor will make no further moves this year to get repeal of the right-to-work provision of **Taft-Hartley**: it can't round up the votes. . . . Stopped, at least temporarily: the sale of the giant Control Data Cyber-76 computers to the Soviet Union. That move was spearheaded by Republicans **Bob Dornan** (Calif.) and **John Erlenborn** (Ill.) in the House, and by **Richard Schweiker** in the Senate. . . . Five members of the Senate class of '76—**Harrison Schmitt** (N.M.), **John Danforth** (Mo.), **Malcolm Wallop** (Wyo.), **S. I. Hayakawa** (Calif.), and **Dennis DeConcini** (Ariz.)—have joined with Republicans **Jake Garn** and **Barry Goldwater** in petitioning **Birch Bayh** to schedule hearings in his Senate subcommittee on a constitutional amendment to limit the terms of U.S. congressmen and U.S. senators—elected in the future.

■ Coming up: At Hillsdale College again this summer a week-long Institute in Political Economy (July 24-30). Among the professors, *NR* editors **Stan Evans** and **Russell Kirk**. (For info, write Dr. **John Wilson**, Hillsdale Summer Institute of Political Economy, Hillsdale College, Hillsdale, Mich. 49242.) . . . YAF will hold its national convention in New York City, Aug. 24-28; featured speakers, **William Simon**, **Ronald Reagan**, **Jack Kemp**, **Wm. F. Buckley Jr.** (write YAF National Convention, Woodland Road, Sterling, Va. 22170). . . . And the prototype issue of the new New York morning paper, **Len Saffir**'s *The Trib*, was unveiled at a gala cocktail party on June 28, at the Tavern on the Green (site of *NR*'s rocking 15th).

■ Good thinking: The House Appropriations Committee has appropriated $9 million for the capture and relocation of 10,000 endangered **snail darter** fish, clearing the way for the completion of the $116-million Tellico Dam, which looked like an endangered species itself for a while this spring.

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THE WEEK

■ Uh-oh. A Senate subcommittee is looking into the discovery that mother's milk is a carrier of unsavory chemicals, including some known carcinogens. Federal regulators may be faced with their most ticklish challenge to date. The big question is whether they'll require filtration systems, or simply settle for a monitory tattoo.

■ Right-to-work forces suffered a partial defeat when the House voted to repeal the Hatch Act—A *partial* defeat, because it's not at all certain that the repeal will make it through Senator Abraham Ribicoff's Governmental Affairs Committee. And, also, because the House passed Representative Trent Lott's (R., Miss.) amendment saying, in summary, that no federal employee may be forced to join a union against his will. The symbolic importance of this amendment is indicated by the reaction of the friends of Big Labor—e.g., Representative William Ford (D., Mich.), who said, "What the gentleman talks about as the expansion of freedom of the employees is a union-busting provision. . . . It would have the House go on record in favor of the principles of right-to-work." Just so.

■ Remember when the Southern states were the hookworm and pellagra belt? Well, calculations by Chicago bank economist and NATIONAL REVIEW contributor Alan Reynolds, published in the "First Chicago Bank Report," indicate "that real, after-tax incomes are now significantly lower in New York and Massachusetts than in, say, Arkansas and Alabama."

■ In yet another 5 to 4 vote, the Supreme Court ruled unconstitutionally discriminatory a New York State law denying financial aid for college work to aliens who do not intend to become U.S. citizens. Sometimes you feel like giving up.

■ How do you beat the porn peddlers? By getting a jury to declare their wares obscene. How does a jury go about that? By referring to local community standards, following guidelines laid down in the Supreme Court's 1973 obscenity decision. How do you figure out what your local community standards regarding obscenity are? By having your mayor design a questionnaire for residents—at least, that's how Cleveland is doing it. How do you circulate the questionnaires? Cleveland plans to have the garbage collectors deliver them.

■ AND WE GRIPE ABOUT GULAG! Historian Herbert Aptheker, in the *Daily World*: "This capitalism—this system born of the slave trade and centuries of slavery, of child labor and the abuse of women, of contempt for those who labor and produce, with its adornments of male supremacy and elitism and racism and its products of colonialism and robber wars—this capitalism, through its politicians and its penmen, dares to lecture the world of socialism about morality and human rights! This system with its ghettos and barrios, its colonies and unemployment, its impoverishment and hunger, its slums and closed libraries, its massage parlors and closed hospitals—this putrid system literally stinking up the atmosphere gives lessons in ethics to Communists!"

■ George McGovern, in an access of isolationist zeal, introduced in the Senate an amendment unqualifiedly endorsing President Carter's plan to withdraw our 30,000 ground troops from South Korea over the next four or five years. When it became clear that McGovern's amendment, so far from passing, was about to be supplanted by an amendment sharply opposing the withdrawal, Majority Leader Byrd intervened and produced a watery compromise, demanding merely that all decisions be taken jointly by the President and Congress. This vote is not binding on Commander in Chief Carter. But, given the genesis of the Byrd amendment, a majority of the Senate clearly rejects the view that, as McGovern phrased it, our Asian friends will not be alarmed, since what the Administration is planning is a "very orderly, very careful withdrawal." As the Senate was shrewd enough to recognize, South Korea, Japan, the Philippines, and Taiwan are more likely to put the accent on "withdrawal."

■ On the eve of the Belgrade conference of 35 nations convened to review the Helsinki accords of 1975, the KGB seized Robert Toth, Moscow correspondent for the *Los Angeles Times*, and questioned him for 13 and one-half hours at the Lefortovo Prison in Moscow. For a while it appeared that Toth might be charged as a spy. On balance, it appears that the Russians were simply using the maltreatment of Toth to admonish everyone concerned that—SALT or no SALT, Belgrade or no

The Old Grey Mare

The Senate's Robert Byrd is not amused,
While Tip O'Neill is madly making signs.
Louisiana voters feel abused;
Big Labor alternately pouts and pines.
In Gotham, meanwhile, where the Third World whines,
The President's ambassador holds sway.
He sends the Cuban army valentines
And gives Angola's leadership an A.
Nor is that all: the Nader kooks won't play,
While businessmen glare balefully at Lance.
In Newark, Mayor Gibson joins the fray
As Jewish leaders start to look askance.
What word, you wonder, from the GOP?
It's out to pasture by the whiffletree.

W. H. VON DREELE

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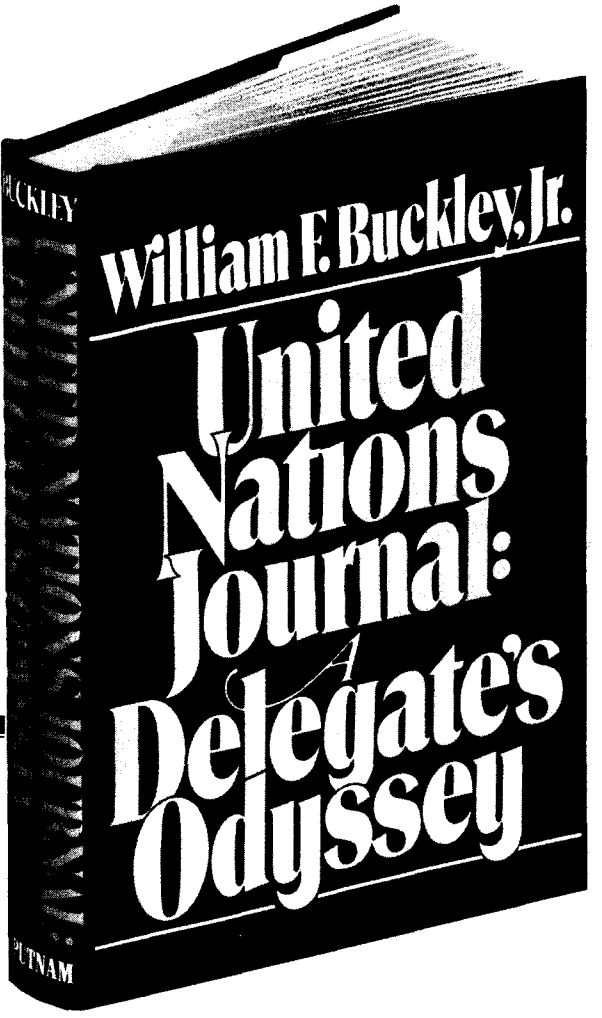
It Didn't Start with Andrew Young

***Here's a book that will explain to you (as only Bill Buckley can explain it!) why the U.S.'s "outspoken" new UN Ambassador may well be the perfect man for the job! (Get your copy now — while our small supply lasts — and* SAVE A FULL $5.00!)**



If you think the attitude of our present Ambassador to the United Nations is something new (and/or embarassing) then by all means get your hands on a copy of Bill Buckley's "United Nations Journal: A Delegate's Odyssey."

This fascinating book, a behind-the-scenes look at what the UN is *really* like, shows you why Andrew Young should feel right at home in the Tower of Babel by the East River.

Buckley paints a picture of an organization almost out of control, choking on its own verbiage, ignoring major problems while going on endlessly about relatively minor matters -- e.g., Jimmy Carter's new concern for Human Rights (*Buckley's* special concern while at the UN), is promoted on paper but little or nothing is actually done to guarantee them. At the same time, by a sort of "gentlemen's agreement," not a word is said about flagrant Soviet violations (sound familiar?). And bureaucratic shackles make sure that no one rocks the boat. When Buckley suggested, for example, that Solzhenitsyn be invited to address the General Assembly, he was told it would *take five years to complete the necessary preparation!*

Indeed, this intriguing book takes you on a first-class guided tour of an organization Alice might have found harder to explain than Wonderland. What goes on daily at the UN may almost defy belief but, if only in self-defense, every concerned (and informed) American ought to know about it.

Now, you can get your own copy of this exceptional book for just $2.95 (retails for $7.95). Here's how. Simply renew your current subscription to National Review (new orders are fine too!) for a full year at no more than the regular $19 rate; you pay only $2.95 for the book, or $21.95 in all, saving you $5.00 on the purchase price of the book. Just fill out and mail the handy reply card opposite this page, today, and we'll take care of all the details for you (including postage and handling).

"Tart, funny, Buckley at his best . . . It should be read by everyone."
-- *The Wall Street Journal*

"What prompted William F. Buckley, Jr., to accept an assignment as a representative of the United States to the United Nations? Pure, undiluted Walter Mittyism,' he confesses, and his fantasy that he would hold the delegates 'spellbound as I read to them from Solzhenitsyn, as I described the latest account of concentration camps in Mainland China, as I pleaded the case of the ballet dancer Panov.' Buckley's stay at the United Nations did not produce such scenes. What it produced instead was his *United Nations Journal,* "the most delightfully interesting civics book in a long time, and probably the first.' "
-- *San Francisco Sunday Examiner & Chronicle*

"Thoroughly readable, perceptive, and highly informative."
-- *The San Diego Union*

"A very enlightening view of the world's most expensive debating society."
-- *The San Diego Union*

"His salty, stylish observations of United Nations life provide a refreshing insight into an often misunderstood institution."
-- *The Hartford Courant*

"More constructive comments of the United Nations than can be found in 1,000 U.N. speeches."
-- *Sunday Oklahoman*

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LETTER FROM WASHINGTON

Our Civil Service, the civics teachers tell us, was set up to safeguard us from the depredations of the spoils system. Under the Civil Service system, candidates for government jobs are chosen by competitive examination, and promoted because of merit. Our government thus operates independently of political patronage.

That's the way it is on paper. But in reality, it's all moonshine. There are examinations, and there are merit promotions, but for the most part these occur at the lower levels only. When you reach the $20,000 level, there is a barrier, much like that barrier encountered in the armed services: theoretically, on paper, you can rise from private to general; but those who actually make the leap from the non-commissioned to the commissioned ranks are just a bit more common than white buffalo. And that is also true of the Civil Service. If you want one of those jobs paying up into the $50,000s, you have to know someone, and your party credentials have to be impeccable. If you're not well connected in Washington, or if you belong to the wrong party, then it's pointless to subject yourself to the ordeal of filling out the required form for government employment. No one's going to see it.

That form is called the 171, and on it you list nearly everything you've ever done with your working life. Then you take it to the Civil Service Commission, and in a few weeks, if you're eligible, they assign you a grade number. From then on, if a job for which you're qualified opens up, the computer tosses out your file, it is sent to the potential employing agency, and you are supposedly considered for that job in competition with everyone else with similar qualifications.

No one at present is sure just how it's done or who does it, but the drill at the Civil Service Commission is not to send out certain files, usually the files of those with the wrong party connections. This is illegal, and the Civil Service Commission does not admit it happens. But it does, and with increasing frequency, as the Carter Administration makes what looks like the most serious attempt ever to politicize the Civil Service.

It is already deeply politicized, increasingly a Democratic preserve. The last big influx took place at the end of the Johnson-Humphrey Administration, when thousands of Democrats were shoe-horned into the Civil Service, just before the Nixonians reached Washington. At the end of the Ford Administration, however, the Civil Service Commission, shellshocked by media charges that Nixon was trying to load the Civil Service (he didn't), put an unprecedented freeze on Civil Service conversions, with the result that hundreds of Republicans who would have disappeared into the bureaucracy were left out there in their highly visible political-appointee positions, waiting for the Carter axe. Thus, the Civil Service didn't get a Republican layer like the ones the Democrats have traditionally laid down, and Republican civil servants from the Nixon years are few and far between.

In the meantime, however, the Carterites are starting early. According to several reliable sources, the word has gone out that no Republican 171s are to go out to any of the agencies and departments. And to keep the Civil Service Commission honest, seven new political positions have been created, to be staffed by Carter appointees. The purpose of these positions is to "support" the Commissioners, two of whom are Democrats and one a Republican. Thus, for the first time in its history, the Commissioners of the Civil Service Commission will be directly advised by partisan political appointees.

The stories of Carterite tampering with the Civil Service are already widespread. Mike Causey, author of "The Federal Diary" column in the *Washington Post*, reports that Carter Cabinet officers are attempting to reorganize career jobs in the bureaucracy into "Schedule C" jobs—that is, jobs reserved for political appointees who serve at the pleasure of the President. If successful, this would effectively displace those Republican careerists who have managed to burrow in.

Many here also believe that such a reorganization would provide the White House with a way to appear to get rid of some of its blubber without throwing the faithful out into the streets. With more Schedule C slots available, those White House purgees would be provided with comfortable landing places.

One of the beauties of the spoils system is that every few years *all* the rascals can be thrown out. But thanks to Republican ineptitude and Democratic know-how, only the Republican rascals seem to be getting thrown out, if they are able to make it in in the first place.

When Richard Nixon first came to Washington, he found he had trouble getting the simplest things done because of a politically hostile bureaucracy. And if a Republican ever again takes the White House, things will be infinitely worse. —CATO

Belgrade, Helsinki or no Helsinki, detente or no detente —human rights and similar babbittries are not going to be imposed on an orderly Communist state.

■ No news from Belgrade is probably bad news from Belgrade. The Soviet bloc arrived in the Yugoslav capital and refused even to consider an agenda that included a discussion of the Helsinki-endorsed human rights provisions. And that's where it stood at the time we went to press, on the seventh day.

■ The Cuban government owes about $3.5 billion (including interest) to 5,911 American nationals, according to calculations of the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission authorized by Congress. In the past, both Democratic and Republican Administrations have treated discussion of claims resulting from expropriation as an essential part of the process of normalizing relations with revolutionary governments. Recently a few inconspicuous references to the issue have appeared in news stories, but it remains to be seen whether the Carter Administration will insist that Castro move to redress these injustices. If it does not, some claimant will surely get a court order attaching the first Cuban cargo ship to enter U.S. waters. That could discourage trade.

■ The government of Cuba is broke: it is subsidized to the tune of about $1 billion a year by the Soviets and has a crushing foreign debt of almost $6 billion. So it is a nice question where, if trade with the U.S. were to be resumed, Cuba could get the foreign currency to pay for purchases here. Of course, the U.S. Treasury could

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William F. Buckley, Jr. has written a "charming, witty, erudite, mischievous"* book about ~~politics~~ sailing.

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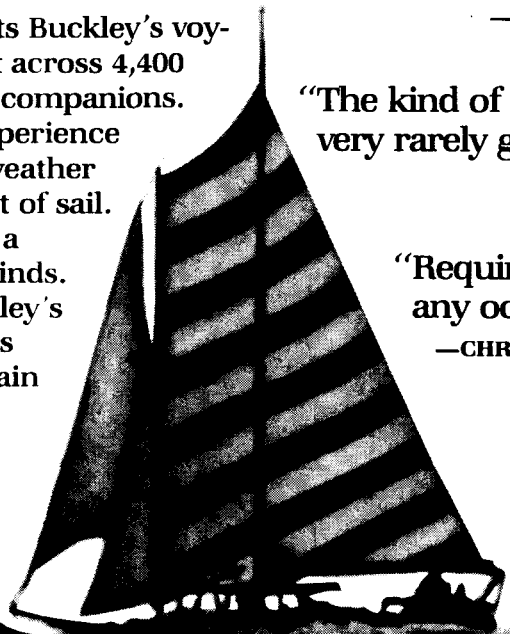
THE NEW YORK TIMES



AIRBORNE

by WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY, JR.

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MACMILLAN

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extend loans and credits, and the U.S. taxpayer could then end up paying U.S. corporations to send Castro the food and equipment he needs to keep his bankrupt enterprise going. With enemies like the U.S., who needs friends?

■ Nothing new in Uganda, where it is reported that Idi Amin, celebrated big-game hunter and international raconteur, has long conversations with God, sits in his office for hours firing a revolver into the wall, and has on numerous occasions eaten human flesh. The Ugandan Information Ministry denies charges that Amin is "deranged," noting that it is no easy thing feeding a 258-pound dictator, and after all, why waste political opponents?

■ Travelers returning to Nairobi from the Seychelles report that the soldiers of the new government are patrolling the streets carrying Russian-made AK-47 automatic rifles. And there is this nice coincidence: four days before the leftist coup, the Soviet Union opened a 12-man embassy in Victoria, the capital.

■ In existence for only two years, the Federal Paperwork Commission is doing well. Its staff has grown from seven to 208 and its annual budget is $11 million. How goes the war on paperwork? The Office of Management and Budget reports that it now requires 143 million man-hours per year to complete government forms—an increase of 13 million man-hours from when the Commission was formed.

■ Cracking down where it counts, the *New York Times* says it will severely restrict ads for porn films. Starting July 1, such ads will be limited in size and content, with no illustrations and no information beyond the title of the film, the name and address of the theater, the schedule of showings, and the label "adults only." The *Times* rakes in some $750,000 a year in porn ads, so this is something more than a mere gesture. It is a sacrifice to good taste and morals. We herewith blow them a chaste but heartfelt kiss.

■ Transportation Secretary Brock Adams has announced that the last 4,200 miles of the federal interstate highway system are ready to be completed for only $40.6 billion, a little more than the whole system was supposed to cost in the first place, a little less than a world war. At $2,000 a foot, it may be cheaper just to make taxpayers lie in a row and drive over their backs.

■ Frozen-dessert police at the FDA have completed the issuance of federal recipes not only for ice cream, as reported here earlier, but also for sherbets, milk ices, "French" ice cream, frozen custards, and fruit ices. Violators may get their assets frozen.

■ Food and Drug police have mounted a swift, well-coordinated raid on a Laetrile plant in Manitowoc, Wisconsin, seizing tons of apricot pits. The raiders assert that one ton of apricot pits will yield 190,512 Laetrile tablets worth $1 each ("street value"), making the entire seizure worth $2,286,144 in Laetrile value, or about $10 as compost. The FDA banned Laetrile on grounds that it has not been proven effective in treating cancer, a standard under which practically everything on earth could be banned, not least the FDA.

■ The hottest new bar game in years has surfaced in Des Moines, Iowa. For two bits, bar patrons can take a breath-analyzer test to see if they are legally bombed. If not, they have another.

■ GET MARY'S PROPORTIONS! DEPT.: From Mary McGrory's June 20 column: "Still others charge that Carter's initiative is hypocritical since two of our client-states, South Korea and the Philippines, whose record on human rights is proportionately as bad as that of the Soviets, have not made the slightest move toward change."

Una Selva Oscura

Shortly after his inauguration as President, Jimmy Carter boldly set forth a clear-cut program for settlement of "the Mideast problem." Essentially it was the program endorsed years ago by the United Nations: recognition of Israel's right to exist; Israeli withdrawal to approximately the 1967 borders; a homeland for the Palestinian Arabs, "preferably linked to Jordan"; special protection for Israel's security until a full state of peace with her neighbors is achieved; reconvening of the Geneva conference, with all interested parties present to work out the details.

Alas, President Carter has quickly had to learn, as each President has had to learn before him, that there is no straight and single path to solution of the Mideast problem. Lines of interest of nearly all nations, cultures, and tendencies intersect and intertangle in that small region that has been fought over with hardly any interruption since recorded history began.

Israel gets so upset by the talk of a "homeland" and some U.S. restrictions on advanced weapons that she overturns the Labor Party's thirty-year rule and puts into office a hawk and former terrorist who has sworn never to yield a centimeter of the Left Bank, given to the Jews by God Himself. Egypt and Syria, feeling that —whatever the meaning of Carter's words—Israel is still getting a disproportionate amount of U.S. arms and money, and under heavy pressure from domestic dissatisfaction with their dismal economies, make eyes again at Moscow. The oil sheiks call for quick action and hint about more oil price jumps if it doesn't come. The UN mob whoops through more anti-Israeli resolu-

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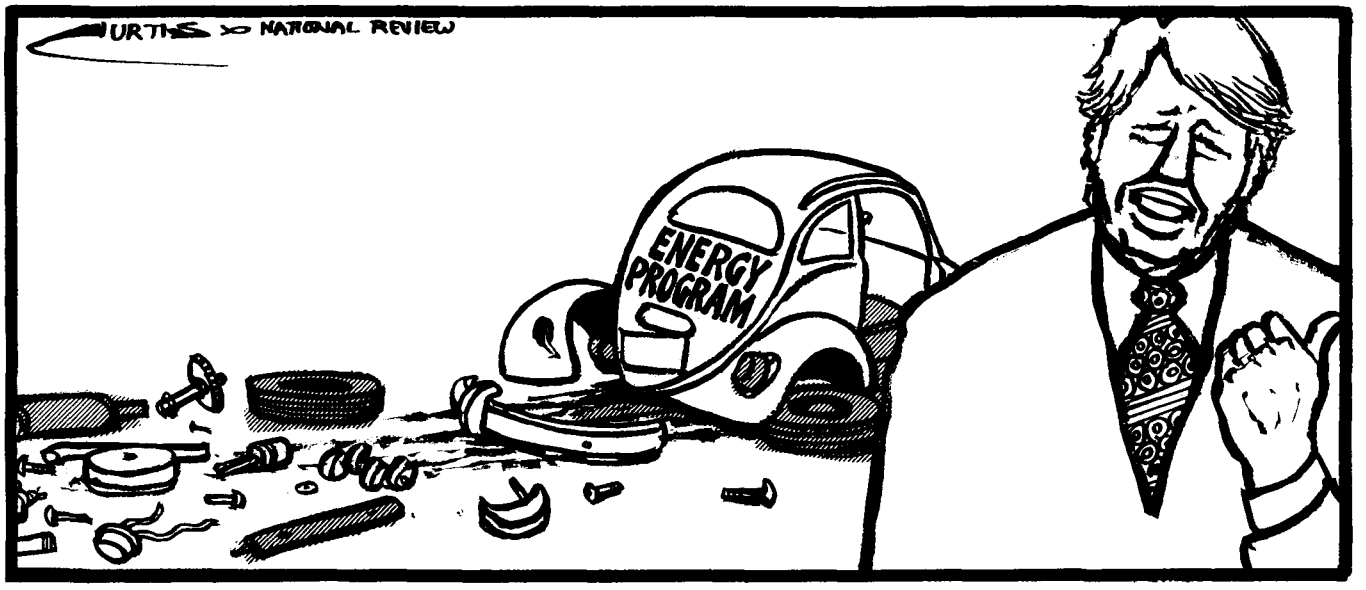

tions. Moscow keeps busily stirring all waters. Congress argues about Arab boycotts and the amount of aid for Israel. The U.S. Jewish community, alarmed at the "homeland" talk and what Rabbi Alexander Schindler, chairman of the conference of presidents of major Jewish organizations, sees as "an erosion of Carter's commitment to Israel," revs up its powerful lobbies.

As always in the political life of mass democracies, the home front gets the priority attention. Using Vice President Walter Mondale—who has a thirty-year pro-Israel record—as point man, the President in the past several weeks has sought to quiet the uneasiness of the Jewish community and simultaneously butter up new Israeli Prime Minister Menahem Begin, who is expected soon in Washington. Nevertheless, in his pacifying speech in San Francisco and subsequently, Mondale seems so far to be sticking to the core of the Carter proposals: fairly prompt Israeli withdrawals conditioned on genuine Arab guarantees of peace. The columnists Evans and Novak, who are not given to excessive rhetoric, are convinced that on the Mideast front, "Carter intends no retreat."

Not So Gay

For all its bizarre surface interest, the Dade County vote on "gay rights" was probably one of those elections that involved something beyond the ostensible issue, though of course including that issue. Anita Bryant wanted a vindication of fundamentalism; her opponents have tried to depict their defeat exactly as an endorsement of fundamentalism, the better to discredit the majority before other parts of the country. But it was not only fundamentalists, but a broad majority of other groups, including Jews and blacks, who overwhelmingly voted to repeal the homosexual rights bill. A consensus so broad must be based on something besides a narrow interpretation of a few Biblical passages.

Our guess is that the public is surfeited with bogus claims to "human rights." Granted, it is unfair to discriminate against a homosexual in hiring for a job to which homosexuality is irrelevant. It is also unfair to discriminate against left-handed people and midgets without a good reason. But we pretty clearly don't want to stuff the statute books with ordinances exhaustively particularizing categories of people to be protected against arbitrary discrimination.

It might be rational (though unwise and impracticable) to ban such discrimination across the board, through a law of carefully worded generality. So far, however, America has not done this. In general, we prefer to leave the distribution of economic favors to the discretion of those who are in a position to dispense them, because the idea of freedom inescapably implies the risk of a certain amount of arbitrariness.

There have been exceptions. And they have reflected the almost religious status of pluralism in America. Laws forbidding discrimination by "race, creed, color, or national origin" bespeak a special respect for those deep matrices of personal identity, together with an ethos of transcendence of divisive particularism. These laws occasionally (and somewhat confusedly) supersede the imperatives of freedom; but they don't abolish them. The exceptions are so few that it is clear that they *are* exceptions.

What the homosexual rights movement seeks is just such a special and exceptional status for homosexuality as such, the designation of *this* deviance as a privileged, protected, and quasi-sacred identity category. As Garry Wills points out, we don't think of other deviants in that way; of adulterers, for instance, as adulterers primarily. Homosexuals are distinguished less by their perversion than by their self-importance, as witness their own analogies between their problems and the historic tribulations of Jews and blacks. The voters of Dade County were properly affronted by that nonsense.

Meanwhile, back in Manhattan, angry phalanxes of

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homosexuals marched in protest, and Anthony Lewis spoke soberly, judiciously, Tocquevillishly, of that "tyranny of a majority" that leads to the crumbling of constitution and commonwealth. In New York, at least, none dare call it sodomy.

Korea: Danger Phase

During his campaign for the nomination, Jimmy Carter advocated the withdrawal of U.S. ground troops from South Korea. This pleased his liberal audiences, a tactical necessity for him at that point, and he is now moving to honor that campaign promise. Indeed, forestalling mutiny on his left remains a continuing tactical problem for him, a problem he has attempted to solve chiefly in foreign policy, and there, so far, mostly through rhetoric and symbol. His Korean policy, however, involves substance as well as symbol, and it represents a very delicate phase of global power-politics. In the area of the Korean peninsula, one interlocking relationship impinges upon another and ultimately affects the entire global equation.

Carter's Korean policy does stress gradualness. The troops will be withdrawn over a five-year period. Evidently the Air Force will remain, as will the Navy in contiguous waters. Carter, breaking with precedent, has even stated that atomic weapons might be used to halt an invasion.

In politics, however, indeed in all human relations, appearance is part of the reality, because the appearance will to some degree be acted upon. The withdrawal of U.S. ground strength inevitably "appears" to be a retreat of U.S. power and commitment. In the event of an invasion from North Korea, you may or may not decide to use your air power, atomic weapons, etc. If ground forces are there during an invasion they will fight, and you will be committed.

Various sets of eyes are watching Carter's Korean moves and evaluating them.

One set of eyes belongs to the South Koreans, both government and opposition. Another belongs to the North Korean despot, Kim Il Sung, who presides over one of the most totalitarian regimes on the globe. Kim Il Sung has also shown abundant signs of megalomania. The Soviets, watching, will make their own calculations.

The leaders in Tokyo know as well as anyone else that Japan is an economic giant but a military pygmy. Japanese security now rests upon American power and will. If the Japanese get an adverse reading of American policy in Korea, they have several options. They could rearm, go nuclear. They could also reach an accommodation with either China or the Soviets, shift dramatically away from their present U.S. orientation.

The attitude of Peking toward South Korea is more complex than may appear. As the Communist Chinese read the situation, North Korea is a Soviet puppet. Any increase in Soviet power on the Korean peninsula is objectively anti-Chinese. It follows that the Chinese do not desire the withdrawal of American power there, just as they do not desire any weakening of NATO. On the bottom line, what the Communist Chinese fear most are circumstances in which the Soviets conclude that they could fight a one-front war against China.

Complicating all this immensely, moreover, is the developing scandal of South Korean bribery of U.S. congressmen, most of the suspects Democrats. As the scandal breaks, it will be used as a political weapon against South Korea. Tactically, every effort should be used to defuse this weapon. It does not follow that because the South Korean intelligence service tried to buy a number of congressmen the people of South Korea should pass under the grotesque rule of Kim Il Sung, or that U.S. national interest, inevitably tied to the Korea-Japan-China-USSR equation, should be jeopardized.

. . . Speak No Evil

Suppose that Lieutenant General Donn A. Starry, Commander of the U.S. V Corps in West Germany, had said in his address June 15 at the graduation ceremonies of the Frankfurt (West Germany) American High School: "The global outlook is becoming more favorable. The United States is at peace and intends to stay at peace in the decades to come. The policy of detente assures us that there will be no major war between the United States and the Soviet Union. Relations with China are peaceful and improving. The West European Communist parties have shifted to democratic programs, so that we don't have to worry even if they enter West European

"I have a dark confession to make, too, Marcia. For years, I've harbored the secret hope that life would be discovered on Mars."

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governments in the near future." On this supposition, it is a sure thing that there would have been no troublesome after-effects—indeed, no after-effects at all beyond a small notice in the local paper and the *Stars & Stripes*.

What General Starry did in fact say included such comments as these: "There will probably be war in your lifetime. Conflict of some kind is a natural state of man. In your lifetime the Soviets will fight the Chinese, probably in a major war. Difficult as it may be to see the United States becoming involved in such a war, it is likely we would do so once it became apparent that one or the other of the antagonists was about to win and gain absolute control over the bulk of the Eurasian land mass." What in fact happened was that General Starry was called home on the double for reprimand, and his scheduled advance to four-star full general suspended. General Starry had, a Pentagon spokesman affirmed, "failed to clear [a] statement on policy matters."

However, the Starry remarks were not about "policy matters." True or false, they were about "factual matters"—his estimate of some things that he believes are going to happen in the years ahead. He did not say—as the Pentagon spokesman admitted—that he disagreed with any established U.S. policy; he did not advocate any divergent policy; he did not refuse to carry out policy. He limited himself to what he believes and made no reference at all to policy.

What does the Carter Administration want of its military officers? That they should *not*, in public, tell the truth as they see it? That they should stick to trivial topics? That they should hide serious realities behind conventional clichés?

When General Singlaub in Korea, a few weeks earlier, responded to the decision about withdrawing ground troops from Korea by declaring that this would bring war, he was obviously making a public attack on the decision—that is, on established policy—even though he phrased his comment as if he were merely making a factual prediction. Singlaub's reprimand was therefore justified, even if a little rougher than necessary—probably (as *NR* mentioned at the time) because of the new President's wish to leave no doubt about who is boss these days. But this treatment of General Starry for speaking seriously about serious things within his field of interest and responsibility is shabby—suggesting more the insecure martinet than the assured commander.

Barking Up the Wrong Tree

James Earl Ray got just far enough beyond the prison walls to rub elbows briefly with the raccoons and salamanders, but he gave the Ralph Abernathys and Jimmy Breslins enough time to muse, *fortissimo*, on whether the FBI hadn't been his employer in the first place and hadn't sprung him for the purpose of silencing him forever. The news magazines had no sooner slapped him on their covers with breathlessly noncommittal speculations than he turned up, disappointingly, alive. Ray's own fecklessness seems contagious.

There is no evidence, none, that he had an accomplice in murdering Martin Luther King. The demonologists, with their circle-squaring yearning for coherence, have taken the scattered shards and tried to assemble them in some way that suggests a larger shape, if only the missing pieces would come to light. To be sure, there are unanswered questions. How did he finance his peregrinations in the months after King's death? How did he acquire his forged passport? But these can be answered without recourse to a conspiracy among the FBI, the CIA, and the SPCA.

On the other hand, there is nothing inherently improbable about conspiracy. People do conspire when they want social cooperation without public exposure, and Ray may have found somebody equally demented to help him with the King murder. The point is that if another conspirator were found, he would probably be another Ray. And what a disappointment that would be to Messrs. Abernathy and Breslin, who never raise questions without specifying the answers they'll accept.

Fun and Games in Paris

It was ring-around-the-rosy time in Paris last week when Leonid Brezhnev came to town. French President Giscard d'Estaing is at the moment locked in battle royal with his former prime minister Jacques Chirac, leader of the Gaullist Party. Now it is every bit as much of a ritual when foreign dignitaries arrive in Paris that they visit the Hôtel de Ville, the Paris City Hall, as that they put a wreath on the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier. But this visit was omitted from the official schedule.

The reason is, of course, that the Hôtel de Ville is now occupied by Chirac, the first mayor of Paris since the days of the Commune; he won that office by drubbing Giscard's hand-picked candidate last winter. But Chirac, who is nothing if not politically astute, had taken the precaution of inviting Brezhnev by mail to visit him. Brezhnev accepted, knowing full well that this would irritate his host, the Hôtel de Ville being more important politically than it should have been. By visiting Chirac, Brezhnev also indicated that the Soviet Union preferred Charles de Gaulle's foreign policy to Giscard d'Estaing's. It was de Gaulle, let it be remembered, who pulled French troops out of NATO and threw NATO headquarters out of France. He had talked grandly of a Europe united "from the Atlantic to the Urals." He was a *détentiste* of the first order, while Giscard's most recent foreign policy venture has been to help President Mobutu put down an invasion of Katanga from Soviet-dominated Angola.

Having thus helped exacerbate the tensions between Giscard's centrist followers and the Gaullists, who must work together if the united Left is not to win the parliamentary elections next March, Brezhnev faced up to the problem of Georges Marchais, head of the French

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Communist Party. Marchais has been busily playing the Eurocommunism game, also looking forward to March 1978, when the French people will have to ask themselves if they really believe that a socialist government that includes Communists will act independently of Kremlin orders, whether such a government can remain part of the Western Alliance. So Brezhnev made no move toward a meeting with Marchais, which could be interpreted as a sign of his displeasure with the French Communist leader, but which could also—and more astutely—be interpreted as Brezhnev's way of playing out the script for the destruction of Western Europe that had been written in Moscow some time back. And Marchais, for his part, announced to the press that he saw no need to meet with Brezhnev "every time he comes to Paris."

All in all not a bad three days' work for the Kremlin's newly anointed Superstar.

Lynching Rhodesia

United States policy with respect to Rhodesia has assumed many dubious forms, from placing an embargo on Rhodesian chrome to supporting a $100-million fund for four African states that are backing guerrilla warfare against the Ian Smith government. The Carter Administration has evidently embarked upon a policy of toppling Smith and achieving "majority rule," but it hardly seems necessary that in the process it trample upon the First Amendment rights of Americans here at home. It may have been saved from this manifest folly by a timely amendment to the Foreign Relations Authorization Act of 1978.

On May 27, the United Nations Security Council unanimously adopted a resolution calling upon all states to "prohibit the use or transfer of any funds in their territories by the illegal regime in Southern Rhodesia, including any office or agent thereof, or by any person or bodies within Southern Rhodesia, for the purposes of any office or agency of the illegal regime that is established within their territories other than an office or agency so established exclusively for pension purposes."

This resolution, if implemented, will close the Rhodesian information offices in Washington, D.C. and Sydney, Australia. These offices have answered inquiries, distributed material from Salisbury, and provided valuable assistance to the press. Merely by lifting a finger in the UN Security Council, the U.S. could have vetoed the measure, and could have done so in the name of a free press and free speech. However, it will still require an executive order from Mr. Carter himself to implement the UN resolution.

But the prospect of that executive order now runs squarely into the amendment offered by Senators Case and Clark. The text is brief but pointed: "It is the sense of the Congress that any foreign country should be allowed to maintain an information office in the United States." The Foreign Relations Authorization Act, as amended, passed by a 64 to 21 vote.

The amendment is not binding on the White House. Mr. Carter could still issue his executive order censoring the press. But if he heeds the sense of the Congress, Mr. Carter will have been saved by the Senate from his own maniacal policy toward Rhodesia.

The foreign policy of the United States, by the way, should not be made in the United Nations.

Aborting Abortion?

For the first time since the Supreme Court's 1973 abortion ruling, the political and legal momentum appears to have shifted to the anti-abortion forces. "The Supreme Court today ruled that neither the Court nor federal law requires states to pay for abortion when the life of the mother is not endangered . . ." The law, that is, does not require that Medicaid and/or other funds be used for purely elective abortions.

Those committed to the cause of abortion-on-demand immediately and correctly perceived this decision as an important setback, because, with anti-abortion sentiment rising in Congress, pro-abortion hopes increasingly rest upon the Supreme Court.

During the same week that the Court handed down its decision, the House of Representatives passed the Hyde amendment, which bans the use of Medicaid funds for *all* abortions, without exceptions. The vote was a solid 201 to 155. No doubt this issue will go at some point to the Supreme Court. But since the Court has now ruled that the *states* may ban funds for elective abortions, it would seem to follow, *a fortiori*, that Congress can too. Such an inference would leave in question only the comprehensive character of Hyde.

Sold to the Highest Bidder

The Grumman Aerospace Corp., located in Bethpage, Long Island, is currently producing for the Navy a multipurpose aircraft, the F-14, known to its familiars as Tomcat. The Navy, like many specialists in these matters throughout the world, believes that the F-14 is probably the finest existing military aircraft, and certainly the best in any Navy's service. The F-14 costs a lot of money.

The Northrop Corp., located in Los Angeles, the McDonnell-Douglas Corp., located in St. Louis, and General Electric Corp., through its plant located in Lynn, Mass., are teamed together to develop a prospective Navy fighter plane, designated F-18, by modifying the F-17 they are producing for the Air Force. The F-18 would also be an excellent military aircraft, though with most performance characteristics inferior to the F-14's, and more limited capabilities. When first proposed, it was claimed that the F-18 would be much cheaper than the F-14, but, as is customary, its estimated cost has

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Holding Back the Tide

Mr. Lance is out to spank
Every interest-raising bank.
On the theory that each rise
Drives inflation to the skies.
Bankers, on the other hand,
Say that with a strong demand
Rising interest rates are sound—
Since there's less to pass around.
Mr. Lance should not dispute
What we learned from King Canute.

W. H. VON DREELE

risen rapidly on the road to production, and is now slated to be somewhat higher than the F-14's.

Confronted with a tight budget and many needs, the Navy, backed by the Pentagon, concluded it should cancel the F-18 and step up procurement of the F-14—already in production and amply proven. The Navy, the Joint Chiefs, and the Defense Department believe that this would be the best use that can be made of the funds available to the Navy for its assigned tasks in defending the nation.

This belief is not shared by: Representative Charles Wilson, Democrat, whose California constituency is the residence of most Northrop employees; Representative Richard H. Ichord, Democrat, from the St. Louis home of McDonnell-Douglas; Edward M. Kennedy, Democrat, and Edward W. Brooke, Republican, the two senators from Massachusetts, site of the GE plant that would manufacture F-18 engines; and Thomas P. (Tip) O'Neill Jr., Democrat, also of Massachusetts. Speaker and most powerful member of the House of Representatives.

Do you need to be told the result of this clash of opinion between two sets of experts on the weapons systems most suitable for a Navy that must match the formidable new Soviet fleet now extending its range of action to all the world's seas? A deep cut, you will not be surprised to learn, in the number of F-14s, to the Navy's dismay, and many hundreds of millions, soon to become billions, for the F-18 project, to the happiness of statesmen O'Neill, Kennedy, Brooke, Wilson, and Ichord.

Energy Hogs

Although the President has told us that the United States is the most wasteful nation on earth in terms of energy use, that honor really belongs to the Soviet Union. The Soviets use a bit less than half as much oil as we do, but they also produce far fewer than half as many goods, and are heavy users of most other forms of energy. According to UN data, the USSR consumes the equivalent of 3.2 kilos of coal per dollar of Gross Domestic Product, while the U.S. consumes 1.9 kilos. Energy consumption has also been rising more rapidly in the Soviet bloc than in the West for many years, with oil consumption, for example, increasing 60 per cent in Eastern Europe from 1970 to 1975. These comparisons are rather remarkable considering how few cars and other energy-using consumer goods are available in Communist countries.

While the Soviets get little useful production from their lavish energy consumption, they cannot be faulted for neglecting energy production. The U.S. was the world's largest oil producer as recently as 1973. Now, USSR is first and we are a poor third, behind Saudi Arabia, although Soviet and U.S. known oil reserves are about the same. The Soviets are also going full speed ahead with nuclear development. They evidently think that energy supplies are important. Maybe we should too.

Notes & Asides

■ Dear Honkie:

After reading your article expressing your personal views about Ambassador Andrew Young, I would like to drop you a few lines and say Honkie Stop Crying! Aren't you a lucky man, getting paid for expressing your opinion while millions of Americans are doing hard labor, trying to survive.

Who in the hell are you? Who is Wm. F. Buckley Jr. who dares to give his opinion about Andrew Young when the Ku Klux Klan are still on their reign?

The trouble with you pale-faced rednecks is that Andrew Young is too "Black" for y'all. Instead, you would rather have some unrealistic, anthem singing, passive nigger, smacking on oreo cookies at break time in office. Just who in the hell are you, that makes you an authority on American Blacks?

And I find the use of the word "negritude" "*racially offensive, and counterproductive.*"

And as far as what he wears, don't you think that it's up to him. I mean he is a grown man, even though you still want him to be your boy. However, as far as him wearing his blackness, baby that ain't going away no time soon, so Stop Crying!

Billy, either you are "innocent, or just plain naïve" (maybe racist) because of the fact that you fail to see your fellow honkies representing white America, or that honkies in America are becoming color blind. Have you become color blind since the civil rights movement??? And as far as that same old stale line about Daniel Patrick Moynihan—SHOVE IT!!!

So as the saying goes, once a honkie, always a honkie, and I'm not a black panther, or a member of the SNCC

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(I guess all Blacks that speak out have to be a member of one or the other), and I don't always agree with Andrew Young, but his opinion is just as good as yours, and all I can say for Mr. Black Ambassador Andrew Young, is keep giving it (his opinion that is), and keep telling it until those honkies put you out.

Sincerely yours,
Maryum Townsend
Albany, N.Y.

Dear Miss Townsend: If I were Andy Young, I'd call you a racist. Cordially, WFB

■ Professor John K. Galbraith
Harvard University

Dear Ken:

You are more charitable with me than ordinary good manners dictate, and I thank you for your restraint under provocation.

You will not be surprised that I disagree with you on what makes an economist important. I believe that you confuse popularity with importance, and I enclose an article which argues that an economist is only important when he is making scientific contributions. My own merits as an economist will rest, not on the desultory expeditions I make into policy discussion, but on whatever value attaches to my work on the economics of information, regulation, etc.

Sincerely,
George J. Stigler
University of Chicago

cc: Mr. William F. Buckley Jr.

Stigler wins. Discussion closed. WFB

■ Memo to: All Concerned
From: WFB

Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn will lecture throughout the Republic beginning in early October in the East, and ending in late November in the West. He is not only the most learned man in the world—this we all know—but the most provocative and entertaining. Do not lose the opportunity to hear him if he comes your way. If he is not scheduled to come your way, cause him to do so. Write to Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn, A-6072 Lans, Tyrol, Austria.

■ Dear Bill:

You have by now read, marked, learned, and inwardly digested a book called *The Unfinished Agenda —The Citizen's Policy Guide to Environmental Issues.* This book is financed by the Rockefeller Brothers Fund. Help! Help! I raise a feeble voice in supplication to a distinguished word man. We are stumped by science. Give us a translation into easy English, once our mother tongue. Folks who dabble in science no doubt need a vocabulary. You can help a lot to drive out phony expertise by mockery. Otherwise we shall all be headed for a new tongue in our tower of Babel.

Following is a typical excerpt of what you will find:

"The tendency of modern education to mold minds into narrow disciplines, in a way that inhibits holistic thinking, is considered by many to be a root cause of modern environmental problems. Scientific techniques stress specialization, reductionism, and the abstraction of unrealistically simplified concepts from the complexity of the real world. One preoccupied with the scientific method assumes—dangerously—that every effect has a cause. The hypotheses of science are based largely on this assumption, and the experiments that test these hypotheses are designed for a degree of isolation which ensures that the assumption is approximately true. It is too often forgotten that in the absence of experimental isolation, real-world feedback makes causes indistinguishable from effects."

The Rockefellers can afford and almost always get the very best talent but here they assembled pontificators who have lost their ability to communicate. As science advances so must its technical vocabulary and terminology but it must not be allowed to become incomprehensible to the general public. I am appealing to an expert in slinging the so-called English language to interpret this latest pontification and, if possible, make it understandable. Let's assume we are not all terribly bright, so slip it to us gently in monosyllables. If people like you don't come to bat, who will enable us boobs to comprehend the savants of science and the jargon of the schools?

Cordially,
Robert Moses
New York, N.Y.

Dear Bob: What they're saying is you can't tell the difference between the chicken and the egg, 'cause they're really the same thing. . . . Why didn't you put these people in a booth at the World's Fair? Cordially, Bill
—WFB

Rock Funk, from Chelsea

For the very latest taste,
Tie some nails around your waist—
Ones with lots of rusty crust.
Hang a wrench athwart your bust.
Paint your hair a shocking green.
Make believe it's Halloween!
Slit your skirt with jagged holes.
Let your toes peek through your soles.
You can lay 'em in the aisles
With these smashing British styles.

W. H. von Dreele

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Notes on Eurocommunism

The Protracted Conflict

JAMES BURNHAM

THE TERM "Eurocommunism" is an invention of non-Communist Western journalists. It has not been used by spokesmen for Communist governments or by Communist parties East or West. By their own members, the Italian, French, British and Spanish Communist parties continue to be called "Communist" parties

2. The decisive and distinguishing ingredient of Leninism as a political tendency is its theory of the party. Lenin rejected not only the kinds of organization developed by conservatives and liberals during the nineteenth century but also those of the socialist parties adhering to the First and Second Internationals. He insisted that the socialist transformation of society ("the revolution") could be accomplished only through "a new kind of army." Its active cadres would be, not part-time volunteers and amateurs, but full-time professional revolutionaries. As in an army, there would be binding, centralized discipline. Its leaders would constitute "the General Staff of the Revolution." A member working in a factory, office, government bureau, or parliament would be a soldier of the revolution, assigned to a post of duty and subject to the orders of the party.

When Leonid Brezhnev—the Secretary (i.e., #1) of the Soviet Communist Party—took over the post of President (i.e., chief of state) of the Soviet Union in mid-June, he declared that this was "an act of deep political meaning" that symbolized the party's dominant role. "The party," he stated, "has determined and will determine the political line in deciding all the key questions of state life." The government, it follows, is subordinate to the party, not the other way around.

3. The Communist parties now being called "Eurocommunist" (Italian, French, British, Spanish) continue to be Leninist parties in both theory and practice—Leninist in the harder, post-Revolution mode that phased into Stalinism. Last year's conventions of the French and British parties (the French with more than 1,500 delegates) adopted their formally pluralist-democratic programs unanimously, and unanimously re-elected their leaders. The Spanish party hasn't yet bothered with a convention. No factions are permitted in any of the four parties, and no publication deviating from the party line. Party discipline applies to all members in both speech and action.

4. Statements by the Italian party that, on entering the government, it would not propose Italy's withdrawal from NATO, and somewhat softened statements on NATO by the French party, have been taken by many Western commentators as proof of Eurocommunist independence from Moscow. In fact, however, the Eurocommunist position on NATO is identical in essentials with Moscow's.

The Italian Communists say that immediate Italian withdrawal from NATO is not on their agenda. The correct objective is to bring to an end "the policy of blocs"—that is, to liquidate both NATO and the Warsaw Pact. This has long been Moscow's policy. It is, actually, the policy for the Finlandization of Europe. Except for prestige, the Soviet Union has no need for the Warsaw Pact, since its own military power is the overwhelming portion of the East European total. The other Warsaw Pact members are Soviet satellites with or without a formal alliance. In contrast, without the NATO alliance to link the West European nations with each other and with the United States, Western Europe becomes a loose aggregate of relatively weak independent nations overshadowed by the integrated Communist zone. The Kremlin would have, at the least, a veto power over West European global policies; the U.S. would be isolated. This is the meaning of "Finlandization."

5. In their statements in support of detente, Soviet spokesmen always include the provisos that detente does not imply any lessening of the "ideological struggle" or "class struggle," or any weakening of support of "liberation struggles" throughout the world. That is to say: detente or no detente at the governmental level, there will be no recess in the revolution. This frank definition of policy has been conspicuously exemplified from Angola to Indochina, Portugal to Ethiopia, Chile to Guinea-Bissau.

On this basic and determining global strategy, the policies of all the Eurocommunist parties are identical to Soviet policy. They not only support ideological, class, and liberation struggles, but concentrate on specific targets (Chile, Israel, Rhodesia . . .) in parallel with the Soviet Union. Moreover, the Eurocommunist parties and the Soviet Union make the same estimate of the U.S. as the primary seat of imperialism, racism, and the threat of war.

6. The declarations of Eurocommunist parties that they will respect pluralist parliamentary democracy have been hailed as a "revolution" in the history of Communism. In fact, there is nothing new, and nothing contrary to Leninism, in multi-party pledges. Leninism has always held, in the abstract, that there can be more than one party in a revolutionary state. In the early phases of the revolution in now-Communist nations, including Russia, several parties in fact did exist, and in a few of the Communist nations ghosts of parties other than the Communist party still appear on the ballot.

However, Communists stipulate that once the socialist revolution triumphs (as shown by their gaining governmental power), only parties loyal to socialism can be permitted. A party opposed to socialism is counter-revolutionary, and has no right to political existence. Moreover, since only the Communist party expresses the true interests of the masses and the true way to socialism, all other parties turn out in the last analysis to be counter-revolutionary. They are therefore subject in principle to being illegalized, even if given circumstances require them to be tolerated for a while.

This is the logic exemplified by the actual course of events in every country where Communists have come to power, even in those countries—like Russia itself—where some of the Communist leaders had themselves believed, before taking power, in the possibility of a multi-party system. □

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TALKING TO MOSCOW

On June 13, the U.S. and USSR began discussions on an agreement to ban explosions of nuclear devices. Past cessations of testing, the authors show here, have hurt the U.S., helped the Soviet Union

The Nuclear Test Ban: A Dangerous Anachronism

S. T. COHEN and W. R. VAN CLEAVE

We know enough now about broken negotiations, secret preparations, and the advantages gained from a long test series never to offer again an uninspected moratorium.
—John F. Kennedy

PRESIDENT KENNEDY made this staunch avowal on March 2, 1962.

Six months before, the Soviet Union had abruptly and without warning terminated a three-year moratorium on nuclear testing by conducting the most carefully prepared, intense, and violent series of thermonuclear explosions in history. After this experience, President Kennedy sought to make it clear that the United States would never again shut off nuclear testing without explicit agreements on inspection and verifiable assurances of Soviet compliance.

At the same time, Kennedy made it clear that meaningful advances in nuclear weapons technology could come about only through actual testing:

> If our weapons are to be more secure, more flexible in their use, and more selective in their impact—if we are to be alert to new breakthroughs, to experiment with new designs—if we are to maintain our scientific momentum and leadership—then our weapons progress must not be limited to theory or to the confines of laboratories and caves.

These technical contentions, of course, were supported by the leading U.S. nuclear weapons scientists of that period, and those still engaged in nuclear weapons work have not changed that judgment over time. If anything, knowing more about the technology and what might yet be accomplished appears to have reinforced the judgment; the director of Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory, Harold Agnew, has stated: "If testing were to stop, then we would not have a capability to design nuclear weapons."

Kennedy knew enough about Soviet secret preparations leading to the massive tests of 1961 to conclude that the answer to a moratorium must be, "Never again." But did he know everything about those preparations? Clearly, the Soviets used the period of the moratorium to prepare clandestinely and methodically the extensive series of tests with which they broke the moratorium. But what President Kennedy may not have realized was that the Russians may have been doing more than just planning; there is a distinct possibility that the Soviets were actually conducting secret underground tests during this period of a presumed moratorium on testing. In view of the phenomenal progress they were able to make in the spasm of atmospheric testing they conducted during the autumn of 1961, it can be argued that they almost had to have performed experiments at lower nuclear explosive levels to check out the basic design of their hydrogen warheads prior to full-scale testing. To have accomplished what they did as rapidly as they did—apparently moving from distinct inferiority to a clear lead over the U.S. in multimegaton weapons technology—without benefit of prior design testing seems technically unlikely.

IN PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S words, "if we are to be alert to new breakthroughs, to experiment with new designs . . . then our weapons progress must not be limited to theory." These words were not merely dramatics to persuade the American public. They are fundamentally correct. On more than one occasion, U.S. efforts to go too quickly from the nuclear drawing board to the testing ground have met with results significantly different from theoretically calculated expectations. On this basis alone, one should be at least highly suspicious—if not utterly confident—that the Russians were testing their lower yield "triggers" so as to check out the design principles of full-scale megaton-range warheads. Was there any indication of such clandestine testing? Maybe.

During the latter half of the 1958-61 test moratorium, the Soviets, with great fanfare and evident pride, announced publicly a series of massive experiments in the use of high explosives (HE) to perform Herculean blasting tasks. The amount of explosives involved in these shots was truly

Mr. Cohen, a nuclear weapons physicist who worked on the Manhattan Project, has been a consultant to the Pentagon, the Air Force, and the Los Alamos and Livermore laboratories. Mr. Van Cleave, a professor of International Relations and Director of Defense and Strategic Studies at the University of Southern California, has held positions in the Pentagon and the U.S. SALT delegations, and was most recently a member of the "B Team" selected to produce a competitive National Intelligence Estimate.

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colossal—tens of thousands of tons. Put in the vernacular of nuclear weapons, this would be tens of kilotons, i.e., several times the release of the bomb that destroyed Hiroshima.

With the ending of the moratorium, these experiments apparently also ended. Today, the Soviets make no mention of these HE blasting techniques and are so high on nuclear explosive methods that they refuse to consider any test ban treaty that would threaten to stifle their progress in this area. So one could guess that the HE shots were a bust. Or were they HE shots?

On June 11, 1961, the following dispatch was issued by TASS:

> UZBEK BLASTING—Preparations are under way in the foothills of Tienshan, Uzbekistan for blasting a high mass of rock, *Pravda Vostoka* reports June 11. For the first time in world practice, 30,000 tons of explosives will blast 14.5 million cubic meters of rock rich in ores. This powerful blast will save four million rubles because it obviates the necessity of building roads, high-tension transmission lines, and other structures. The strength of the peaceful explosion in Tienshan will be such that all seismic stations of the world will be able to register it.

Note three things about this revolutionary technique: the power of the high explosive charge—30 kilotons; the enormous weight of ore blasted out—50 million tons; and the astounding means of removing this ore—so astounding as not to be revealed to *Pravda Vostoka*'s readers, except to note that such ordinary aids as surface transportation and electrical power facilities were not required. (Also not mentioned was how the truly remarkable feat of moving in 30,000 tons of high explosives was accomplished without the aid of surface transportation.)

Perhaps then, the Soviets, announcing "HE experiments" but not permitting inspection of them, were really conducting nuclear tests, in direct violation of the understanding with the U.S. (Admittedly, the moratorium agreement was more in the nature of a "gentlemen's agreement" since nothing of a legal nature was ever signed. Whatever agreement did exist was embodied in unilateral statements and bilateral understandings.)

Today, we see an Administration freshly in office attempting so anxiously to move toward a treaty banning all nuclear testing that it has seriously considered both an uninspected moratorium and unilateral suspension of testing, only hoping that the Soviets could be trusted to follow suit. In other words, the Administration is considering doing what President Kennedy vowed we would never do again—even though the reasons for his declaration hold as true now as then.

Unilateral suspension of nuclear testing is, of course, an option the President can pursue without obtaining congressional permission. A treaty, however, requires Senate

A comprehensive test ban can never be verified. Any 'comprehensive' test ban would in reality be a threshold test ban

consent; and before the Senate could pass judgment on a treaty, the signatories would have to be in accord on specific terms, including means of inspection and verification. The Soviet position on a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT), to date, is very strongly that a CTBT would be unacceptable unless all nuclear-weapons states were parties to it.* Since the Chinese and French (and Indians?) are most unlikely to agree to a CTBT, it would seem that any U.S. initiative would be a unilateral action.

There are two other aspects of a comprehensive test ban that must be considered as well, both having to do with its feasibility.

A comprehensive test ban can *never* be monitored and verified. Any "comprehensive" test ban would in reality be a *threshold* test ban—i.e., one applicable only to testing above the threshold of verification capabilities. Technically, nuclear testing relevant to weapons development and advancement may take place on a continuum of energy release from a very few grams' "yield," or less, to millions of tons (megatons) of TNT equivalent. At the lowest end, nuclear weapons testing may be conducted in the laboratory, impervious to any system of detection. Teleseismic verification levels are a matter of debate; but there will always be a substantial area of nuclear explosive testing for which there is no possibility of identification.** When he was the Pentagon's Director of Defense Research and Engineering, Dr. John Foster testified to Congress that a one-kiloton test (well below even the lowest threshold claimed for seismic verification) is indeed a potentially significant weapon test. While laboratory-scale testing by itself may

*It is, of course, possible that should the Soviets see a competitive advantage to a "comprehensive test ban" involving the U.S. but no others, they would change this position. Over the years prior to agreement on a Threshold Test Ban Treaty (TTBT) at 150 kilotons, the USSR firmly and consistently opposed and rejected anything resembling a TTBT.

**The U.S. Ambassador to the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament (CCD) at Geneva recently warned: "We have to face the fact that, if only national systems are used, even with advanced seismological techniques, there will still be a substantial number of unidentified or ambiguous natural seismic events. These could provide a background against which some number of clandestine nuclear tests could be hidden. On the basis of seismic means alone there could be no objective way to resolve the true character of such events."

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be inadequate to sustain a weapons program for long, the Soviets would have a significant advantage over the U.S. if they were to test at unverifiable, but still appreciable levels in preparation for an end to the ban, while the U.S. refrained from doing the same.

In addition, there is the troublesome matter of "peaceful nuclear explosives" (PNEs). The Soviet position is that PNEs must not be subject to the constraints of a comprehensive test ban. Article III of the Threshold Test Ban Treaty signed by the U.S. and USSR on July 3, 1974 specifically excepts underground nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes. But it must be realized that PNEs can be used for productive military tests. And while the Soviets may allow us to monitor closely the *yields* of their PNEs, they most certainly aren't about to let us check their nuclear explosive designs. The warhead designed to divert a Russian river may also prove effective in the front end of a Russian missile.

The warhead designed to divert a Russian river may also prove effective in the front end of a Russian missile

It is curious that at no time has the present Administration spelled out its arguments for the clear and specific advantages of such a treaty—even though those opposed to a CTBT have put forth a number of quite specific and detailed objections. In fact, one impassioned advocate of a CTBT, Stanford physicist and former presidential advisor Wolfgang Panofsky, nonetheless acknowledged in congressional hearings that:

> It is difficult to make a case that a complete nuclear test ban treaty would be a major factor in slowing the arms race. . . . Strong economic reasons for a comprehensive nuclear test ban are difficult to sustain. . . . The danger of ecological risk in itself cannot be considered to be a persuasive reason for proceeding with a comprehensive nuclear test ban.

This leads one to ask: *If we don't know why we need a treaty, then why do we want one?* In addressing this question, it is just possible that we may find out that there are good reasons why we should *not* want one.

In this respect, one might note a curious inconsistency on the part of many advocates of a CTBT: they argue *both* that all that can be accomplished through testing has been accomplished, so there are no further gains to be had, *and* that testing furthers the qualitative "arms race," so to stop testing will "curb the arms race." The sponsors of Senate Resolution 67, calling for a suspension of U.S. underground testing, assert that "there is no prospect" of new breakthroughs in nuclear technology, yet at the same time argue that "the CTBT has acquired new relevance as a check on qualitative nuclear improvements."

Either nuclear testing *is* significant for nuclear weapons development, or it isn't. If it is not significant, then it is not very reasonable to maintain that a CTBT will "curb the arms race." If it is significant, then the losses incurred by stopping testing must be weighed against the alleged benefits of stopping. The latter, however, are seldom seriously examined. Usually, a CTBT is offered as a giant step in arms control, without showing *how* (and furthermore. ignoring what has occurred since the atmospheric test ban was to have accompilshed the same objective; as Dr. Edward Teller testified at the time of the hearings on that treaty: "This treaty is not directed against the arms race. This treaty is directed against knowledge, our knowledge"). Even more regularly, many supporters of a CTBT divert examination from its purposes and center the argument on the issue of *verification*, or feasibility.

There is, admittedly, some official justification for this, since—if one takes declaratory arms control objectives at face value—the U.S., following preambular pledges from the Limited Test Ban Treaty, has maintained that it favors a "comprehensive test ban adequately verified." Given that, the only catch might seem to be "adequately verified," and so the debate has raged around that point.

This whole argument is, however, something of a red herring. One need not be a confirmed cynic to recognize the distinction between arms control rhetoric and real policy, or to recognize the expediency of deferring difficult problems and decisions to the future through affirmation of general support for arms control aspirations. In fact, until very recently the U.S. has been less than enthusiastic in its pursuit of a CTBT not only because of Russian lack of interest but also because of real doubts about *both* its feasibility (in view of the impossibility of verifying Soviet compliance) *and* its desirability (in view of the continuing need to improve technology). This was strongly suggested by James Schlesinger, who emphasized, when he was Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, that "the question of the desirability of the test ban goes far beyond the question of monitoring what the Soviets are doing."

WHAT THIS MEANS might be approached through a review of the premises of the 1963 atmospheric test ban treaty and the comparative U.S. and Soviet development since then.

At the beginning of the test ban negotiations (in the late 1950s), the United States, by its own admission, held very substantial leads over the USSR in nuclear weapons and nuclear weapons technology. This was at a time when both countries were doing virtually all of their testing in the atmosphere, making it far easier for the U.S.—by analyzing the atmospheric test debris—to determine how the Soviets were conducting tests. Our judgment, unquestionably correct, was that in nearly all areas we were far ahead.

That the Soviets, in a substantially inferior position, should have been interested in negctiations whose successful outcome would relegate them permanently to that inferior position should have seemed curious, to say the least. Considering that U.S. officials were openly boasting of U.S. nuclear superiority, why would the Soviets wish to concede forever such a key military advantage to the imperialist enemy to whose downfall they were sworn? Yet, no such curiosity was then expressed, nor has there been any searching inquiry since, as to why the Soviets would have been interested in freezing their nuclear weapons inferiority by truly stopping testing.

That the Soviets were interested not in stopping testing, but rather in stealing an advantage, by agreeing to a mora-

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torium in 1958, was revealed when they shattered that moratorium, having achieved gains that reversed the previous U.S. lead in very-high-yield thermonuclear weapons and knowledge of weapons effects (e.g., for ballistic missile defense purposes). Even this flagrant transgression caused little change in U.S. efforts to conclude a comprehensive test ban agreement (as opposed to a moratorium). The U.S. viewpoint in 1963 was set forth by the Director of the U.S. Arms Control & Disarmament Agency, William Foster:

> Without [this] treaty . . . our advantage in small-weight, high-yield weapons would most probably diminish. . . . In the field of tactical weapons, the Soviets would eventually be able to match our more diversified and numerous arsenal. . . . With a treaty . . . the U.S. advantage in smaller weapons would persist over a longer time. . . . In general, our present nuclear advantages would last for a considerably longer period.

In the same vein, with reference to the partial test ban treaty which had been negotiated, Secretary of Defense Harold Brown, who was then the Pentagon's Director of Research and Engineering, declared that he had come to support the treaty only after determining that U.S. strategic superiority would not be seriously threatened and that, in fact, the treaty would "actually improve somewhat the position of the United States vis-à-vis the Soviet Union." His boss, Secretary of Defense McNamara, went even further: "The prolongation of our superiority will be a principal military effect of this treaty."

Were a CTBT to be signed now, would it place the U.S. where we hoped to place the USSR 15 years ago—permanently behind?

In the early 1960s it was obviously fashionable to proclaim U.S. superiority and to use its preservation as an argument for arms control agreements. Furthermore, by U.S. decree the USSR found it acceptable to stay well behind and out of competition; in 1965, Secretary McNamara told the public:

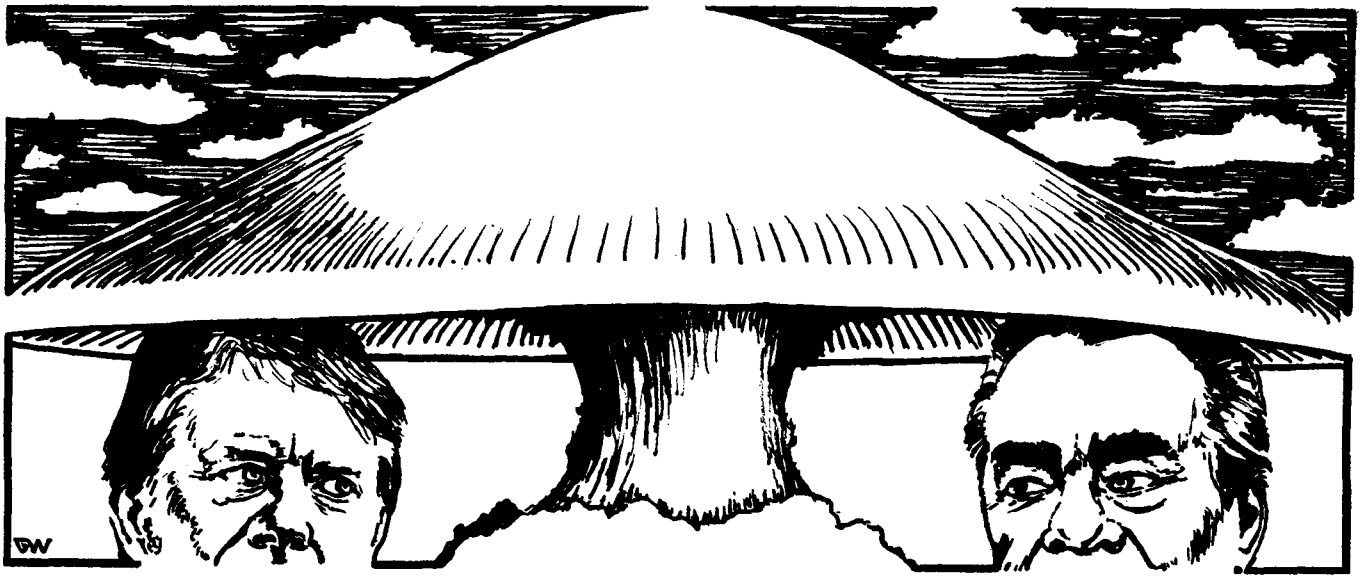
> The Soviets have decided that they have lost the quantitative race and they are not seeking to engage us in that contest. . . . there is no indication that the Soviets are seeking to develop a strategic nuclear force as large as our own.

On the basis of such expert assessment, the U.S. decided unilaterally to halt its deployment of strategic offensive delivery systems—ICBMs, SLBMs, and strategic bombers—at levels lower than originally contemplated. Unfortunately, it soon became clear that the experts had erred. Prompted by decisions perhaps made well before 1963, the Soviets began what became the most massive and determined strategic weapons buildup in history.

As the U.S. gaped in astonishment and disbelief, the Soviets moved from distinct inferiority in strategic nuclear weapons, to parity, and then to quantitative—and very likely overall—superiority. The one-sided progress of the test moratorium years was repeated even more profoundly, and with infinitely farther-reaching consequences, during the years of the partial test ban—the years during which we were assured that our strategic superiority would be preserved. U.S. chagrin was expressed by Harold Brown as early as 1968, as the Soviet buildup came into full swing:

> You see, we leveled out our missile force. We announced how big our missile force was going to be. Our plans are that five years from now we will have just about as many missiles as we have right now. They have known that. They have known it for a couple of years, and they keep on building.

Meanwhile, in the area of *tactical* nuclear weapons (TNW), at the onset of test ban negotiations the Soviets had barely begun to develop their program. The U.S., which had pioneered these weapons, enjoyed clear superiority—virtually a monopoly. By the time of the atmospheric test ban agreement, as if to give the lie to American expectations across the board, the Soviets had dedicated themselves to a tactical as well as a strategic nuclear buildup. However, not until Secretary of Defense James Schlesinger reported in the Annual Defense Department Report



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for fiscal year 1976 that "it is now the Soviets who set the pace here" was there any official public note of Soviet TNW efforts.

Practically unnoticed, then, the Soviets had amassed a force of theater and tactical nuclear weapons exceeding that of the U.S. and NATO. In August of 1976, the Director of the U.S. Arms Control & Disarmament Agency, Dr. Fred Ikle, reported that, already, these Soviet forces "confer a significant numerical advantage over the much smaller nuclear forces of our NATO allies and U.S. nuclear strike aircraft overseas, and against all nuclear forces in Asia as well," and that furthermore this edge is growing: "Russia's strength in regional nuclear bombers and missiles grows like a towering, dark cloud over Europe and Asia."

Turning then to the question of a CTBT today, is there any vestige of American nuclear superiority to be promoted or protected by a comprehensive ban on testing? Or, if it can be argued that the USSR's nuclear capabilities and technology are in "essential equivalence" with the United States', can it be maintained, considering our experience with past test cessations, that a test ban would freeze this situation and prevent the Soviet Union from further relative gains? Or is it possible that were a CTBT to be signed now, it would place the U.S. where it hoped to place the Soviets 15 years ago—permanently behind?

There are areas of uncertainty. We know far more about the numbers and characteristics of Soviet missile launchers than we do about the design and characteristics of Soviet nuclear warheads. The reason being, as Dr. Teller had warned at the time, that by foreclosing atmospheric testing 14 years ago, we also foreclosed our ability to analyze what the Soviets achieved in their nuclear tests.

Clearly, however, the argument today must be that a CTBT, assuming faithful compliance, would freeze the present situation between the U.S. and the USSR, *and* that doing so would not be detrimental to the United States. But there is no way to sustain that position on either score. Moreover, considering how the U.S. has stressed its technological superiority over the USSR as compensating for an unfavorable numerical balance, it would be duplicitous to ignore that factor now in arguing for a CTBT. In fact, it is entirely possible that the Soviets have not only drawn even, erasing U.S. technological advantages, but have gone ahead in important aspects—in which case, it could be argued that a CTBT would be incompatible with the U.S. rationalization for the SALT accords.

Politically and militarily, however, the danger of Soviet advances arises not from the numbers or megatonnage of nuclear weapons *per se*, but from the fundamentally different Soviet view of nuclear weapons and war. The contrast between U.S. and Soviet viewpoints on nuclear policy, doctrine, strategy, and force posturing is vividly revealed in the representative statements in the accompanying table.

These different views on nuclear weapons and nuclear policies spell out a basic cleavage between the two sides. The cleavage is amply confirmed by the asymmetrical preparations of the two sides for nuclear war. The USSR engages in intensive efforts to train its armed forces and prepare its civilian populace for nuclear war, and also invests heavily in offensive and defensive systems clearly designed for nuclear war. Together the views consistently expressed and the actual preparations made raise

U.S.	USSR
Although we compete, the conflict will not admit of resolution by victory in the classical sense. We are compelled to coexist. . . . *Henry Kissinger*	. . . We are firmly convinced that victory in this war would go to us . . . to the socialist social system. *Leonid Brezhnev*
. . . The existence of nuclear weapons creates conditions that are unprecedented in history, in that a war under current circumstances could lead to the destruction of all civilized life as we know it. . . . *Henry Kissinger*	In the West . . . it is claimed that humanity, world civilization, would perish in the event of [a world] war, that everything living on earth would be annihilated. Marxist-Leninists resolutely reject these attempts. They have always considered and still consider war, all the more so a thermonuclear war, as the greatest calamity for the people. But Communists harbor no sentiments of hopelessness or pessimism. *Admiral V. Shelyag*
. . . nuclear weapons do not particularly exploit basic Western strengths. . . . *Donald Rumsfeld*	Nuclear missiles will be the decisive means of armed combat. *Defense Minister Andrei Grechko*
While it is essential to theorize about the nature of tactical nuclear warfare, we must recognize in our planning that the decision to initiate the use of nuclear weapons—however small, clean, and precisely used they might be—would be the most agonizing that could face any national leader. *James Schlesinger*	Although the development of this new weapon does introduce substantial changes into the correlation between politics and war, it does not eliminate [it]. . . . Thus the relationship between politics and war, thoroughly revealed in the writings of Lenin, not only remains valid in the Nuclear Age, but acquires even greater significance. *General A. Milovidov*
Of the resources we invest in the general purpose forces, almost all go to conventional rather than our tactical nuclear capabilities . . . it is because our forces, in their conventional role, can be used more flexibly, and contribute more to our critical defense posture and to the worldwide equilibrium we seek. *James Schlesinger*	. . . The [nuclear] revolution in military affairs is an accomplished fact. It led to basic quantitative and qualitative changes in the military-technological base of the armed forces and in their structure. It marked a revolution in the methods of waging war, a revolution in the theory of military art and actual combat training of the troops. *General N. Sbitov*
	The most important task of the General Staff in preparing for a modern war is the detailed planning of the employment of nuclear weapons by all services of the armed forces. *Military Thought (Journal of the Soviet General Staff)*

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serious questions about Soviet perspectives on nuclear war-fighting advantages. They also raise the question whether, in contrast, the United States, having been the first superpower to enter the Nuclear Age, has not been the first to try to back out of it: whether the U.S. is at all prepared, physically or psychologically, to face nuclear challenges at any level from the Soviet Union, and whether Soviet leaders understand this and plan accordingly

As it now stands, a very ominous asymmetry is developing between the two sides, in respective abilities to initiate, fight, survive, and win a central strategic nuclear war. This asymmetry has been growing continuously and, unless there are U.S. actions to offset it—actions that could be severely inhibited by a test ban or a test moratorium—could be so clear by the early 1980s that U.S., Soviet, and third-country behavior in confrontations would be predestined. If the U.S. is to develop the weapons to correct this asymmetry and to maintain strategic stability, nuclear testing will be a crucial component of its effort. A test ban cannot prevent this dangerous asymmetry; it can only make it much more difficult for the U.S. to do anything about it.

An equally compelling situation exists in the tactical nuclear area. Beginning in 1961, new U.S. policies were introduced that sought to reduce reliance on nuclear weapons for local deterrence and defense, and to increase reliance on non-nuclear means of defense (presumptively, the threat was non-nuclear). At the heart of these new policies was a conviction of the futility of using nuclear weapons in armed conflicts because of the supposedly horrendous destruction they would cause and the great risk of escalation to general nuclear war. To emphasize these risks, modernization of tactical nuclear weapons was ironically impeded. The more destructive the weapons, the more real these risks seemed, and the greater the support given to our policy inclinations.

Even though at that time the U.S. held far more capable tactical nuclear forces than did the Soviet Union, as well as undisputed strategic nuclear superiority, it was believed that the Russians still would move compulsively up the escalatory ladder if the U.S. ever used its tactical nuclear weapons. As a consequence, the policy objective became avoidance of nuclear use (as a higher priority even than deterrence, perhaps), on the assumption that the other side would not resort to nuclear weapons if we did not. On this basis, the U.S. sought to build up adequate conventional force capabilities to contain a conventional attack by the forces of the Warsaw Pact; thereby avoiding the humiliation of conventional defeat and at the same time sparing the world a nuclear holocaust.

No sooner were these policies introduced than the Soviets revealed a profound interest in pushing nuclear weapons development by terminating the test moratorium and by giving evidence of a decision to fashion their military plans around the employment of these "revolutionary" new weapone (e.g., in the 1962 publication of Sokolovsky's *Military Strategy*). Somehow, for reasons never made clear, the U.S. assessment remained that, underneath, the Politburo shared the Western nuclear apprehensions and would seek at all costs to avoid the "agonizing" decision to initiate the use of nuclear weapons.

TODAY, having developed their armed forces in accordance with the implications of the nuclear revolution, the Soviets have achieved capabilities which, if a major war broke out, would virtually assure their use of nuclear weapons to gain military victory. As the U.S. Defense Department currently puts it:

> The Warsaw Pact does not think of conventional and nuclear war as separate entities. . . . Warsaw Pact forces are in fact postured and trained for theater-wide nuclear strikes against NATO nuclear and conventional military forces and for follow-on attacks by their armored conventional forces to exploit the nuclear attack and rapidly seize NATO territory.

Shying away from the thought of nuclear hostilities, the U.S. has let its tactical nuclear capabilities largely stagnate over the past 15 years while the Soviets have steadily improved and increased their forces, to the point that today, according to a Library of Congress study, they "evince extreme quantitative superiority in Central Europe, where their surface-to-surface missiles outnumber ours by about ten to one and their 700 nuclear-capable aircraft by something like two to one."

If the U.S. has elected to opt out of tactical nuclear conflict, is there any evidence that the Soviets see reason to depart from their established doctrine in order to oblige us? Professor Bernard Brodie, who has written and lectured on nuclear policy and strategy for some thirty years, thinks not. "Can anyone believe, with confidence," he asks, "that the Soviet Union would challenge us to so deadly a duel and yet leave the choice of weapons entirely to us?"

As matters now stand, NATO is at the mercy of Soviet forces should the USSR elect a military takeover using its nuclear and conventional forces in accordance with its established doctrine. This defeat has become a serious possibility for far more fundamental reasons than the United States refusal to improve its tactical nuclear warhead stockpile. However, since this refusal, in turn, has been essentially a manifestation of these more fundamental reasons, for the U.S. now to seal this tactical nuclear stagnation by concluding a CTBT would, in essence, symbolize a final decision to concede defeat in ground warfare to the Russians. □

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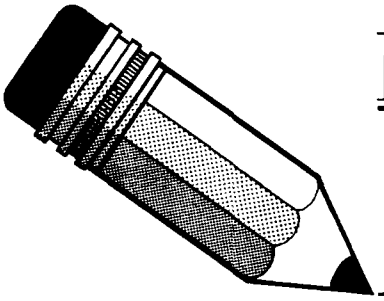
Nadir is to Nader as Lowest is to



A ☐ Orbit
B ☐ Raider
C ☐ Nabob
D ☐ Lower still

GENE V. GLASS

IT WAS THE THIRD summer of the age of Charles Reich. My seatmate from Denver to D.C. was a young man named Ross, Roth, Russ, or Rust —his name is lost now but let's call him Rust. He was headed home from one of those august symposia of intellectuals, bureaucrats, and tycoons at the Aspen Institute which are pursued so sybaritically but with only the vaguest intentions of fostering the cross-fertilization of ideas. To be accepted as authentic, conferences in those days were obliged to "green" themselves with habitués of the respectable fringes of the counterculture: males with hair touching the collar; blacks or browns; occasionally the utterly impecunious (eventually dropped on account of bad table manners); and someone young enough so he could be counted on to wear chinos. The latter role was usually assigned to my seat-mate Rust, a sprig of parsley to color the main course.

Rust confessed to having felt conspicuous and uncomfortable. I asked him if he felt it was the price his people (the young, the oppressed, the Economy Class) had to pay for breaking down barriers; the question seemed to ease his recollection of suffering. Rust recounted an amusing episode from the first day of the conference. Herman Kahn (the Great Kahn, founder and dynamo of the Hudson Institute, futurist and consultant to generals, and indefatigable symposiast) was characteristically late; but taking his place opposite Rust at the huge rectangular arrangement of tables that hoteliers call "conference style," he must soon have sized up the situation and Rust's appointed role. Kahn appraised the scene for 15 minutes; then, while a speaker held forth on nothing in particular, rose, walked around the room, and, leaning, whispered in the ear of the young, nervous stranger: "The low rumbling sound you will hear from across the room each time you open your mouth to speak for the next five days will be the sound of me booing you." Rust relaxed immediately in the knowledge that someone understood.

Mr. Glass is a past president of the American Educational Research Association and was a member of the President's Committee on Mental Retardation.

'We'll See'

Rust told me his professional affiliation. It could have been the National Task Force for Human Welfare or the Commission for Public Protection, or something of the sort. Rust was 27, a recent NYU law graduate, and his organization owed its existence and its vision to Ralph Nader, although the exact connection to Nader himself was unclear. Rust asked what I did. I gave him my résumé modestly:

"PhD in psychometrics, Wisconsin '65; often-published scholar in psychology, statistics, and education; consultant to business, advisor of governments."

Rust wanted to know if I knew Peter Hurkos personally.

"God, no. I don't know how that confusion got started, but I've seen where these seers and fakirs bill themselves as 'psychometrists.' My clan claims lexicographic purity. We measure the psyche; forgive the hubris. Real psychometrics is the theory of measurement of intelligence and things like that."

"You must know about ETS then," Rust replied unnecessarily, and continued, "My group is getting ready to investigate ETS."

"Really!" I was surprised. "That's interesting. What kinds of things are you going to go after? Cultural bias in the tests? Low reliability, poor validity, and all that sort of thing?"

"No, none of that," Rust corrected me. "We don't understand the technical issues of testing and we don't have any hooks into the experts who do. We have got to keep the whole investigation on the level of corporate responsibility."

"Which means?"

"Suppose a guy takes the SAT or the GRE or the Law School Aptitude Test, and he asks the Educational Testing Service to send his scores to a college he's applying to, and they can't get the scores sent out for six weeks or so, and the guy gets rejected because his scores missed the deadline. That's corporate irresponsibility; unreasonably bad service that hurts innocent people."

"Makes sense," I allowed. "I know Bill Turnbull and a lot of the ETS people; I think they'll welcome an outsider's assessment."

"We'll see," mumbled Rust. We each returned to our own affairs. That flight was the last I ever saw or heard of Rust.

A month later, I saw Bill Turnbull at a meeting in Berkeley. Turnbull took a PhD in psychology at Princeton in 1944 and moved across town to head the test research and analysis department of the new Educational Testing Service. He rose to executive vice president in '56 and assumed the top position around '70 when Henry Chauncey, the only man to serve ETS as president to that date, retired. Turnbull is a quiet, studious-looking man approaching sixty. He looks as though he would be more at

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home in the college lecture hall than in the corporation board room. In this respect, he is a fitting symbol of ETS. The organization was built by psychologists and scholars who were somewhat reluctantly dragged into the aptitude testing business by the colleges' need to cope with ballooning enrollments in the Fifties and Sixties.

Turnbull and his staff write aptitude tests ("Complete this sequence: 2, 5, 10, 17, 26, 37, _____"; or "Laconic is to reticent as garrulous is to _____").* The tests work reasonably well. They predict success in college as well as or better than a student's entire academic record in high school does; and they are the same for everyone: rich or poor, white or black, good high school or bad. The tests are given to millions of high school and college seniors every year, and the results are sent to colleges or graduate schools that require them for admission. For performing this service, ETS (a non-profit organization) has won for itself the undying enmity of social revolutionaries throughout the world.

Turnbull listened to my warning of the imminent Nader raid with characteristic poise. He had heard nothing about it, but he was intrigued and expressed his willingness to cooperate with Nader. Turnbull and I never again discussed the investigation; but I followed it through carbon copies of his correspondence with the Raiders, which turned up periodically in my mailbox over the next three years.

Enter Nader

In July 1974, a team of Raiders appeared at Turnbull's office in Princeton. To his surprise, the investigation team was composed of a biology professor (probably on summer leave to the Nader network) and two students who had graduated from high school six weeks earlier. The professor left the team soon after, and the investigation was left completely in the hands of the students, a Mr. Nairn, Princeton freshman-to-be, and a Mr. Sutton, who would matriculate at Haverford that fall. Turnbull and his staff provided them with over a hundred publications and arranged for them to interview many ETS staffers. A less generous man might have been forgiven had he laughed at the team and sent it away. The team wanted more staff time and access to records. Turnbull agreed but insisted on an orderly set of procedures to preserve confidentiality for ETS clients—who had never agreed to release their test scores to Ralph Nader—and to protect his staff, who understandably might have felt their time could have been better spent than conversing with Messrs. Nairn and Sutton.

Enter Nader. In a letter dated August 1, 1974, Nader rejected Turnbull's request for mutually agreeable ground rules as unreasonable. Turnbull replied on August 8 that he would promise full cooperation with the investigation when Nader provided a reasonable set of procedures. Nader ignored Turnbull's letter for four months. In a Christmas epistle, Nader demanded complete access to ETS records and rejected Turnbull's concern that his staff might be subjected to excessive demands. Turnbull reiterated his conditions in a letter dated December 31, 1974, and asked Nader to respond by January 15, 1975. No answer from Nader. Turnbull called Nader three times during January and February, and finally procedures were agreed upon. One phone call from Mr. Nairn in April, and another long silence. Apparently the public good would have to protect itself while Messrs. Nairn and Sutton were finishing their freshman year, for they reappeared in Princeton on June 9, 1975, to take Turnbull up on his offer of access to all research documents and sixty hours of interviews with ETS staff. Six weeks later, Nairn and Sutton left Princeton carrying another hundred publications, having completed 47 of the sixty hours of interviews, none with Turnbull himself. On August 19, 1975, Turnbull again wrote to Nader, this time offering further cooperation and asking when a report would be forthcoming. He never heard from Nader again.

No one did until over a year later when Nader appeared to address a meeting of the American Psychological Association on the ETS menace. His accusations were four:

1. That ETS "defines" intelligence and forces its view on universities and the profession—*historically fatuous and politically naïve*;

2. That ETS has a "good hook into" the American Psychological Association—*a vague bit of rhetoric, probably growing out of the fact that many of the best psychologists in the world do research on such problems as learning and human development at ETS, and that the APA has recognized their contributions with numerous awards;*

3. That ETS has no office to which students can register complaints—*six months after Nader suggested to readers of the* Ladies' Home Journal *that they submit complaints against ETS to the Federal Trade Commission, 11 letters were received, most containing complaints by parents that their children didn't score higher on the Scholastic Aptitude Test*; and (finally and most ludicrously),

4. That ETS had "stonewalled" and delayed his investigation which thus took three years to complete.

Doubt

Academic audiences regularly give themselves over to public self-flagellation; their work thrives on criticism and they develop a gourmand's taste for it. The APA audience received Nader's attack warmly. The next day Bill Turnbull addressed an audience that was only a fraction of the size of Nader's. He suggested that the Raiders take a crash course in ethics, and he expressed frustration because there is no agency with which a Nader victim can file a complaint.

In the social scientists' hagiography, few saints outside Academe are more fervently worshipped than Nader—Saint Ralph, the apotheosis of abstemiousness and selfless concern for his fellow man. If they acknowledge any fault in Nader, perhaps it is that his commencement addresses are suffocatingly boring, even by academic standards. But a certain greyness is tolerated in a just cause, and few of my fellow scientists ever doubted where justice resided when the Raiders took up arms. Now, when I recount Bill Turnbull's experience to a colleague, he disbelieves, then he challenges the facts, then I see incipient doubt form in his countenance; and somewhere deep behind his furrowed brow where are stored the formula for the Pearson correlation coefficient, the instructions for the Rorschach, the input-output equations of the Keynesian model, the Weber thesis on Christianity and capitalism, the Freudian diagnostic categories, and the Dewey Decimal call number of the *Collected Works of Talcott Parsons*, an unspoken thought takes shape, races past the GM assembly line, hovers over a nuclear power-plant, and escapes toward the ozone layer. □

*Ans.: 50; and "loquacious," among others.

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LETTER FROM RICHMOND

Howlin' Henry's Surprise Win

ROSS MACKENZIE

VIRGINIA'S JUNE 14 Democratic primary stunned practically everyone who is supposed to know anything about Virginia politics.

In the race for the Democratic nomination for governor, former Lieutenant Governor Henry Howell defeated former Attorney General Andrew Miller. Howell's defeat in this, his fifth statewide race since 1969, had been deemed a foregone conclusion. Miller was to inherit the long-lost cloak of Democratic power.

Ordinarily, Virginians require a dignified demeanor in their candidates; they never have known anything quite like Howlin' Henry. He is a Lester Maddox with brains, a monumental braggart, a voluble, Falstaffian, carny-caller. He is a smiling single-issue Naderite who says such things as: 1) "Every year, like clockwork, the big utilities try to raise your rates, and every year, like police work, Henry fights for the consumer"; 2) "The utilities don't like my prying, and I don't like their profits"; and 3) "You all know what Vepco [the Virginia Electric and Power Company] means: it means Very Expensive Power Company." And apparently he is a member of the Andrew Young school that so enjoys the luxury of contradiction: having taken repeated credit for thwacking Virginia's utilities, Howell declared himself "an ocean of ignorance" on such important matters, as, for instance, utility rates.

As a consequence Howell generates diverse—and explicit—reactions. The hearts of many Virginians go pit-a-pat at the very mention of his name: blacks, big labor, Common-Causers, militant teachers, and not a few rurals with prominent red hues on the backs of their necks. Combined with various individuals who buy the proposition that it is healthy to elect someone pledged to stirring things up, these voters make up about 38 per cent of the electorate. So Howell needs to attract only about 19 per cent of the remainder—a remainder that is heavily conservative. These are voters who, for the most part, regard Howell as just about the worst thing that could happen to Virginia. And these are the voters whom Miller failed to stir.

Losing to Howell was an achievement of some magnitude. Miller has been working diligently to move into the executive mansion for, oh, about a decade and a half. He is the only living Virginian who, running as a Democrat, has won statewide office in the past decade; indeed, he has done it twice. Yet in this election he lost. On election night Miller blamed his loss, in part, on the weather. His implication was that rain throughout the state on election day kept his people home. More likely, potential Miller voters stayed home because Miller failed to convince sufficient numbers of them that he is sufficiently conservative. (Significantly, in the two other primary races for statewide office, the unabashed conservative won handily.)

MOST OF MILLER'S supporters seem unlikely to work for Howell this fall. Miller himself has reacted coolly to proposals that he campaign for Howell, and with good reason: during the primary campaign Howell unlovingly linked Miller to anti-Jewish bigotry and said Miller "lacks stability." Understandably, Miller is not altogether pleased by Howell's nomination. Nor are many Miller supporters. Said Miller's finance director in March: If Howell wins, "you'll see me the next day holding John Dalton's hand."

Dalton is the Republican nominee for governor; currently he also is Virginia's lieutenant governor. He knows how to win elections. He has run six times, and has always won—always with at least 59 per cent of the vote. In his races for the state House of Delegates he generally carried every precinct. In 1973 he won his present post by carrying all ten of Virginia's congressional districts—the only Republican to have done that, ever. And he is a conservative pledged to bringing Virginia "another four years of conservative Republican administration.."

So the state is set for a repeat of the 1973 liberal-conservative race in which Howell lost by only 15,000 votes to Mills Godwin. This time Howell will have support from the White House. During the primary campaign Hamilton Jordan reportedly sported an "I believe in Henry Howell" button, Gerald Rafshoon prepared Howell ads, Patrick Caddell did Howell polling, and Jack Carter campaigned for him. The President has promised more this fall.

But Virginia is perhaps the nation's most responsibly conservative state. It has tended to vote Republican in statewide and national races for the past decade. John Dalton is tough. And Virginia's voters have long been inoculated against Howellian humbug. Howell already has begun to campaign on the proposition that he can "do more" for Virginia because he knows Jimmy Carter. That is precisely what worries conservative Virginians most.

"I'm not the least bit worried about raising money for the general election. After all, you see, for the first time in recent years we have a Democratic President. I've got a Democratic President who's slept in my house. . . .

"There are people that want to be judges, United States marshal, who want to do a whole lot of things. And they're not going to be going around kicking Henry Howell in the last thirty days and trying to scare people like it was Halloween—the same tactics that they used on Jimmy Carter—because they're going to say: 'We better not hit Henry too hard, because even if he doesn't win, Jimmy might ask him who should be the federal judge or who should be postmaster, or who should be whatever Jimmy Carter can do.' . . .

"If you will examine it, the people who like to contribute to people who might know the President of the United States, who had the President staying at his house when he was campaigning, who embraces him around the shoulders, every time he sees him in a line. He shakes hands. He gets to Henry—you know, he gives me, 'Henry, you're a good man'—and these are the things I've got going for me. And I am most happy about it." □

Mr. Mackenzie is editorial page editor of the Richmond News-Leader.

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M. STANTON EVANS

Free Flights

NOTHING IS MORE powerful, it seems, than an idea whose time has passed—if the idea is that of federal regulation.

Evidence of regulatory failure looms up before us like the wreck of Ozymandias, colossal in its bulk and lugubrious in its desolation. Yet the urge to regulate persists, driven by the psychic need of congressmen and bureaucrats to correct the failings of previous interventions by adopting new ones. Protected interests and ideological commitments are too immense, apparently, to admit of any sudden changes.

Do not despair, however, for a countervailing bit of good news is at hand: In a single area—that of airline travel—the proof of regulatory foul-up has grown so massive that former friends of regulation have begun to reconsider, and to lisp uncertainly of competition, market pricing, and other once forbidden concepts. A consensus is emerging in behalf of airline deregulation, and there is reason to believe that it will someday attain a measure of success.

Participants in this consensus are a varied lot. They range from former Senator James L. Buckley and Representative Philip Crane of the American Conservative Union on the Right to Senator Edward Kennedy and Ralph Nader on the Left. Along the way the alliance has picked up support from President Carter, former President Ford, the Department of Transportation (DOT), and even a chairman of the Civil Aeronautics Board, which regulates the airlines.

What all these people are looking at is a pile of data showing that regulation of the airlines has blocked competitive entry, doubled prices to consumers, discouraged air travel, and damaged the very carriers it is supposed to be protecting. The facts establishing all of this were originally generated by conservative economists, but have recently popped up in Senate hearings, Nader documents, studies by the DOT, and other such unlikely places.

Departing CAB Chairman John Robson notes, for instance, that, since the agency was created in 1938, the number of trunk lines (major carriers) has shrunk from 21 to ten. No new trunk line has been certificated by the CAB although it received 79 applications between 1950 and 1974. Correlative to blocking entry, the CAB has discouraged pricing competition among existing carriers, so that competitive behavior is limited to service frills that mostly serve to jack up costs (and eat up profits).

That it doesn't have to be this way is shown by the performance of non-CAB-regulated carriers in Texas and California—intrastate airlines which offer safe, convenient service at rates appreciably lower than those promoted by the CAB. A DOT study published last year shows that Pacific Southwest Airlines (PSA), Air California, and Southwest Airlines are roughly half as expensive as interstate carriers ($15 coach fare from Dallas to Houston, compared to $32 for CAB-regulated carriers; 5 cents a mile for longer hops in California, *v.* 10 cents in the land of CAB).

AS A RESULT, these intrastate airlines have substantially increased their travel volumes, maintained high load factors, and stepped up the level of worker productivity. They have shown that demand for air travel is highly price-elastic, and that higher volume, lower prices—here as elsewhere—is still the formula for economic progress. By 1971, PSA and Air California were carrying 75 per cent of all intra-California passenger traffic, up from 29 per cent in 1961. In 1974, Southwest was hauling 60 per cent of local traffic between Dallas-Fort Worth and San Antonio.

The new deregulatory coalition is trying to apply these lessons on a national basis. A variety of bills has been prepared providing for open entry into the airline business and augmented competition in terms of pricing. Legislation approaching these objectives was proposed last year by the Ford Administration and is being encouraged this year by President Carter. Senator James Pearson of Kansas has a bill, and so does the CAB. By general agreement, however, the bill with greatest merit—and the greatest chance of getting somewhere—is that proposed by Senator Kennedy and Senator Howard Cannon of Nevada.

The Kennedy-Cannon bill would establish a system of open entry, relax constraints on route authority, ease the way for pricing competition, and reverse the burden of proof on "convenience and necessity" in favor of new applicants. Of all the suggested bills it has the shortest time-lag for phasing out the interventions. For those who don't like Senator Kennedy, it should be noted that last year the bill was cosponsored by Senator Buckley, that it has conservative backing this time, and that it is presently being revamped to reconcile it with Senator Pearson's Republican proposal.

Not everybody, of course, is in favor of such legislation. The airlines, in particular, are adamantly opposed. According to Braniff, deregulation would lead to "chaos." Eastern opines that lifting restraints on charter flights "may well be a step toward destroying the industry"—familiar plaints from those astride a sector of protected turf. In keeping with this outlook, the airlines and their employee unions are flooding Congress with umbrageous letters. (A noble exception is United, which is in favor of deregulation.) At all events, the deregulation option is getting a hearing—for the first time in living memory. And if it manages to succeed with airline travel, who can tell? The lone and level sands of failed compulsions stretch far away. □

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Books Arts & Manners

The Sweet Dream

Utopia and Revolution
By Melvin J. Lasky
Chicago, 726 pp., $35

JAMES BURNHAM

Mel Lasky is something of a sport in the American intellectual community, although he joined it conventionally enough in the Thirties, as an undergraduate at City College of New York, spawning ground of so many of the talented Jewish intellectuals who went on to take charge of American cultural life. It was during those days that he became a protégé of Sol Levitas, managing editor of *The New Leader* and the nicest social democrat who ever lived. Lasky studied also at Michigan and Columbia, and, when the U.S. got into the war, shifted from campus to army. As a combat historian he entered conquered, divided Berlin, traumatic synecdoche of the cold war that was the closest to Peace the four victors could manage.

Lasky quickly got to know everyone in town—the occupation authorities, both civil and military, as well as the West German writers, artists, academics, and politicians. He became a good friend of another fine social democrat, Ernst Reuter, who, as West Berlin's mayor, led his city out of the rubble and firmly countered the East's provocations. By an adroit miracle, Lasky wangled a subsidy out of somebody or other for a monthly magazine, *Der Monat*, with himself as editor.

For more than a decade the Germans had been cut off from serious Western literature. Lasky used *Der Monat* to acquaint German readers—especially German students and younger intellectuals—with the writings and writers they had missed. He published, month by month, both previously written and new work by Malraux, Koestler, Spender, Pound, Stevens, Silone, Eliot, Auden, Faulkner, and Dos Passos, as well as topical political and historical writings by controversial writers like Orwell, Schlesinger, Kennan, Aron, this reviewer, etc. It was a brilliant, humane, and fruitful idea. Lasky also published German writers, including older writers, mostly exiles, whose works the Nazis had banned, and younger writers who had had to remain silent while Hitler ruled.

Lasky was a founder and organizer of the Congress for Cultural Freedom, which was launched with the help of an eager young CIA, at an international conference held in Berlin in 1950, during the week the Korean War began. In 1958, switching to London, he became editor of the British monthly, *Encounter*, started by the British branch of the CCF and made into Britain's foremost literary and cultural journal under the editorship of Irving Kristol. Lasky continues as editor, under new publishing auspices made advisable by CIA's recent tribulations.

Lasky is a very good, perhaps a great, editor, and he writes intelligent, often lively articles of many sorts; but he is not really a writer of books, though some of the articles have been bound together (*Africa for Beginners* and *The Hungarian Revolution*). *Utopia and Revolution*, too, for all its 726 pages, is not exactly a book except in physical form. The text is an unexpanded version of the Encyclopedia Britannica lectures he delivered in 1965 at the University of Chicago, and has such encyclopedic trappings as 105 pages of small-print notes and a huge index. It could almost be classified as an anthology; more than half of the text consists of direct, often lengthy quotations from or paraphrases of several hundred authors from Dante to Sartre—the fallout, Lasky mentions, from hundreds of days of burrowing in the corridors of the British Museum Library. (Lasky makes a rather too extravagant claim, or apology, for his anthological method: "The history of ideas is, I feel, a form of dialogue with the past in which the essential lines have already been spoken. . . . What more selective and interpretative method is there in historical writing than the exhibition of texts and contexts?")

These pages can best be understood as sets of variations on a half-dozen themes: utopia, revolution, ideal, dogma, ideology, heresy. Lasky presents these themes, in dialectical interrelationship, as expressing the primary modes, the typical obsessions, of the modern (post-medieval) world, and as marking its historical direction, or drift. The ideal utopia—usually conceived as an orderly, harmonious ant-hill—is translated into the goal of liberating revolutionary commitment. The revolutionary storm breaks (the lightning flashes, the explosive detonates) with

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Victor Gold's *latest book is* PR as in President. . . . **Howard Hunt** *was recently paroled after spending 32 months in prison for his role in Watergate. He had retired from CIA in 1970 after 21 years' service, and is currently lecturing and writing a book about his imprisonment.* . . . **Vincent Miller** *is a professor of English at Wofford College in Spartanburg, S.C.* . . . **Jane Buckley Smith** *is an Associate Editor of* NR.

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compounding violence. The resulting devastation prompts the imposition of arbitrary and authoritarian order. The ideals harden into ideological dogma, which in turn evokes heresy. A new utopian ideal emerges, links up with resurgent revolutionary passion, and the cycle repeats.

I don't think many people are likely to read this volume straight through It doesn't, really, go anyplace in particular. But it is richly stocked for dipping and delving. It is full of strange lore and fancy. The variations on Lasky's themes are played by a vast company ranging from the most powerful and famous to the obscure and lonely. Emperor Frederick II and Columbus give way to "James Howell—Royalist and admirer of Charles I; Commonwealthian and admirer of Oliver Cromwell; loyalist and Historiographer Royal to Charles II: and, not least, that master of seventeenth century English prose who was so admired by Thackeray." Turgenev's Bazarov introduces "a Paris radical (Michel de Bourges) standing with George Sand beside the Seine, looking across the Tuileries." We are told (it would surely astonish any editor of the OED who might happen by) of the "unforgettable scene" in the English translation of Masonielli's *Le Revolutioni di Napoli* wherein "the very word *revolution*, which has within it the association of the fire of the cosmos with the blood of man's fate, makes its historic debut."

The utopia-revolution-heresy-... cycle ("The King is on his way to the scaffold, the cataclysm is upon us, the globe is in upheaval") is one of the more plausible compositions for a portrait of the modern world—"Faustian civilization," as it was called by Spengler, to whom Lasky, curiously, makes only one small reference ("Spengler, trying his own hand at the family tree, thought he recognized Christianity as the grandfather of Bolshevism"). Lasky confesses he has himself, "at various times in the past," been seduced by the cosmic fire, by "the utopias and revolutionary commitments, orthodoxies and heresies." But he did not discard what Sol Levitas, though his name does not appear in *Utopia and Revolution*, had implanted in those early forming days. Lasky finds consolation "in the triple hope: when utopian longing is a supple changing idea of diverse virtues and dreams; where revolution represents a reformer's open-eyed recourse to a difficult path of social reorganization, without conspiratorial self-delusion and bewitching metaphor; and where, whatever the devotion to principles of political action and ethical aspiration, there is present 'the heretics' true cause' —dissent, tolerance, and a respect for humane reason."

That is, Mel Lasky remains true to the social-democratic vision: the "sweet dream" of the secular utopian revolution stripped of the irrational horrors that history proves to be the invariant accompaniment of attempts to realize it; the A without the B. □

The American Tradition: A Gallery of Rogues
By John Greenway
Mason/Charter, 210 pp., $8.95

TRUTH AND H----S

M. J. SOBRAN JR.

John Greenway needs no introduction here, I hope. He would probably object to being called a black reactionary because, well, he doesn't really take to blacks. True, he confesses to a "strange tolerance of Jews." But he makes up for that when he discusses the American Indian and his paleface press agents. In 1867, he notes, "a force of five or six hundred Cheyenne warriors girded their courage and their loins and, heedless of danger, fiercely attacked a party of 25 civilians and soldiers gathering hay in a meadow." He calls a current political movement "women's lip." He says that " 'sexual preference' for faggotry is as antiseptic a term as deviousness ever produced for buggery, and quite in [the] tradition of the lawyer who plea-dealt a charge of sodomy down to 'following too closely.' " There are moments when Timon of Athens, by comparison, would seem to be giving humanity the benefit of the doubt. He quotes a teacher of his who said that no matter how black hell was, it became still darker when England's King John entered it. Black reaction is the blacker for John Greenway.

Did I say black? This book will make the hair on your chest stand on end. Despite occasional lapses in which it is neither violent, opinionated, nor obscene, it would have a fair claim to be called unprintable, if only somebody somewhere along the line, from publisher to typesetter, had had the *huevos* to meddle with Greenway's prose. (I learned that word from Greenway: not only do I refuse to translate it, I probably should have written *h----s*.) Furthermore, the sentences tend to sprawl—unfortunate in so desultory a book as this, which consists of anecdotes, railings, catalogues, and quotations (he reprints the whole of Henry V's St. Crispin's Day speech). Why didn't somebody stop him? All right, that's easy for me to say: I plan to be out of the country, across an ocean or two, when this review appears. Which is a prudent place for any detractor of Greenway to be who treasures both the truth and his own *h----s*.

AFTER THE first three of its five chapters, the reader will be grateful that the cowboys whipped the Indians, sorry that the liberals have displaced the cowboys, and contemptuous of the liberals for being so abjectly henpecked by the libbers. But in the third chapter, the one about women, another Greenway starts shining through: a large-hearted Westerner, a man of violent hyperbole but generous, sudden tenderness, and perduring loyalties. These qualities, alas, can't be intimated by brief quotations. But they take over in the last two chapters, which recount his experiences as a part-time policeman in Colorado and, in a most unconventional narrative, the life of his great hero, George C. Patton.

Chesterton once remarked that it was absurd of a critic to suggest that Dickens had got the main idea for *The Pickwick Papers* from someone else, since Dickens never got the main

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idea for *The Pickwick Papers* at all. The title of this book begins misleadingly—*The American Tradition* suggests something like continuity—but it gets better as it goes along: *A Gallery of Rogues* conveys its rich and rambunctious miscellany. It has no main idea. God forbid. Ideas, in its presence, sizzle briefly and turn to vapor.

What it does have is Greenway himself—a very large man of riotous prejudices, some deplorable, others hilarious and endearing. It turns out to be an erratic book, but marvelous company, affording all the fascination of a veteran pirate met in a tavern. □

CIA's Secret Operations
By Harry Rositzke
Reader's Digest Press, 296 pp., $12.95

RANDOM NOTES

■ VISIONS AND REVELATIONS: George Kennan offers the current Administration a "grand design of American foreign policy" in his latest book, *The Cloud of Danger: Current Realities of American Foreign Policy* (Little, Brown, $8.95). . . . Also on the market now is William Safire's novel of political intrigue, *Full Disclosure* (Doubleday, $10.95), providing insight into the machinations of power and a moving story of a blinded President. . . . A sneak peek into 1978 reveals William F. Buckley Jr.'s new novel, a sequel to *Saving the Queen*, scheduled for March publication. Title: *Stained Glass*. . . . With energy conservation on everybody's mind these days, experts and laymen alike are putting their two cents' worth into print. Richard Stein, professor of Architecture at Cooper Union, stands out from the crowd with his very effective *Architecture and Energy* (Doubleday, $12.95).

■ VACATION TIME: Feeling uncoordinated? Unable to return those drop shots? Don't despair. Take some expert advice from Vic Braden and Bill Bruns in their big, glossy *Vic Braden's Tennis for the Future* (Little, Brown, $12.95). . . . If the physical route to spiritual satisfaction is not your game, let Paul Kurtz—editor of *The Humanist*, professor of philosophy at SUNY, and a happily married man—explain how you too can achieve a meaningful existence in *Exuberance: A Philosophy of Happiness* (Prometheus Books, $8.95). . . . And for those long, lazy days beside the sluggish Housatonic, you will want to have Harold Blaisdell's *The Art of Fishing With Worms and Other Live Bait* (Knopf, $10), both for practical advice and for pleasurable diversion when the fish just aren't biting.

■ FOOD, GLORIOUS FOOD: Time-Life, Inc. has included in its endless series of expensive, colorful books a wonderful *Holiday Cookbook* ($14.95) with photographs that will make your mouth water, and ingredients that will make your waist expand and your wallet contract. . . . Both the paperback book and the recipes inside Michele Evans' *American Cuisine Minceur Cookbook* (Warner, $1.95) are kinder on waists and wallets.

THE THIRD ARM

HOWARD HUNT

Under normal circumstances, a book jacket blurb by Arthur Schlesinger Jr. is a warning signal: Beware of Contents. However, in the case of Harry Rositzke's *CIA's Secret Operations*, one may safely and happily ignore the warning, for it is by far the best written and most authentic book on the CIA I have ever read.

Rositzke and I were CIA colleagues for more than two decades. I remember him as a provocative lecturer and conversationalist, a man of broad academic knowledge coupled with deep, current awareness of the world conditions against which CIA was required to operate. So I confess to a predisposition to accept his version of events that occurred during his career. In fact, many of the incidents he describes in detail I knew of either first-hand or collaterally, and as I read his book I found myself nodding like a veritable codger and muttering, "Uh-huh, just so. That's the way I remember it. That's how it was." For the book is—like Rositzke's own long and dedicated professional career—a felicitous blend of intelligence philosophy and intelligence operations, and the author has not refrained from describing CIA failures as well as some mitigating successes.

Rositzke links the postwar American policy of containment to National Security directives which forbade CIA to do more than *react* to Soviet initiatives, and he mounts persuasive arguments that Harry Truman's perception, in 1948, of an aggressive, menacing, monolithic Communism was due largely to the lack of adequate intelligence on the Soviet Union. Had this country comprehended the devastated, weakened condition of postwar Russia, Rositzke asserts, which rendered it incapable of waging war against the West, our cold war mentality would never have been engendered. (Here I must take issue with Rositzke, for the cold war was initiated by Soviet subversion, rather than by Soviet military moves.)

ROSITZKE points out that during CIA's first five years of existence, its targets were selected largely by the Pentagon, improperly turning what was conceived as a strategic intelligence organization into a group that merely collected order of battle and other types of tactical military intelligence. This misapplication of CIA capabilities was to be repeated in Korea and Southeast Asia, where, among a wide variety of assignments, clandestine services officers found themselves doing AID-type work in rural villages.

During the time when I was working as an assistant to the late Allen Dulles, he was told that the Department of State had declined to open a consulate in the border area of a country contiguous to Vietnam. The Department cited possible hazards to consular personnel, and this infuriated Mr. Dulles. "Tell State to open their damn consulate," he roared, "and we'll staff it with our own people." His enthusiasm to get-the-job-done was shared Agency-wide; but, however laudable at the time, its effect was to spread the Agency thin and dilute its major effort—which should have been to place high-level agents within the Kremlin. I remember no instance of Agency failure to accept requirements laid upon it by State or the National Security Council, and Rositzke pointedly criticizes the frequent abuse of the Agency's capabilities by its superiors.

Without theatrics, the author describes the development of CIA secret operations in postwar Europe: how an agent is recruited, trained, and dispatched to his target area. He notes the calamitous effect of the Berlin Wall on intelligence operations that depended upon a relatively unhindered flow of bodies in and out of Berlin. It was because of that handicap, Rositzke records, that the Agency developed its "legal traveler" program, which inserted into the USSR large numbers of tourists and other observers who could obtain Soviet visas. I remember CIA's enchantment with the program because it was Doing Something; in fact the legal travelers produced low-level reports and, again, tactical military intelligence, to the detriment of what should

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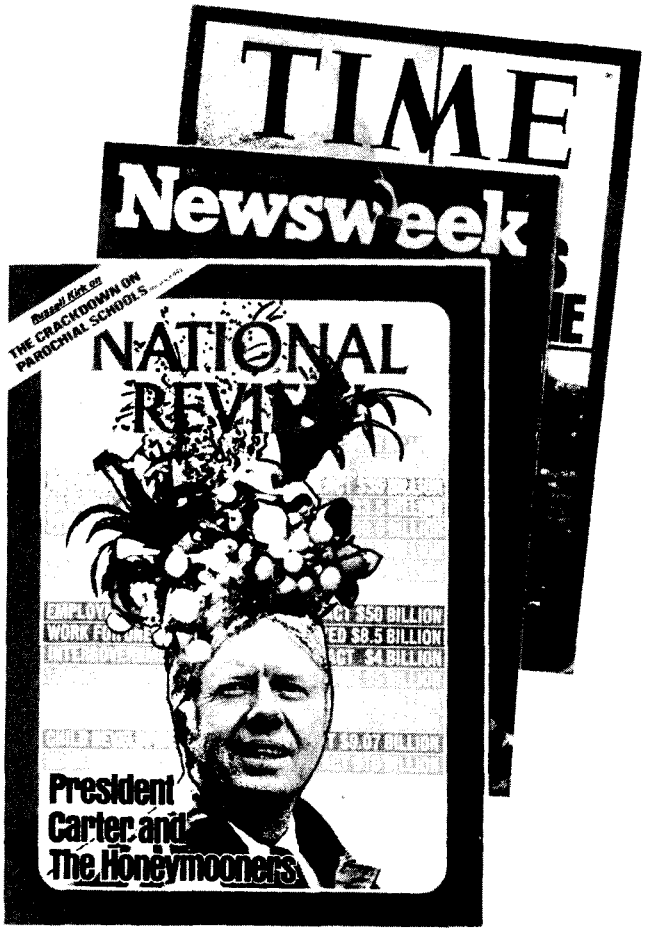
You won't find these articles in TIME or NEWSWEEK

- **Can Russia Survive a Nuclear Attack?** Ellsworth Raymond explores the possibilities.
- **Bigger Appropriations, More Unemployment** by Senator Orrin Hatch.
- **What is the Institute for Policy Studies Up To?** The inside story by Miles Copeland.
- **Milton Friedman** on Adam Smith's relevance today.
- **The Importance of Will Herberg:** a symposium.
- **William A. Rusher** on Victor Laskey's "It Didn't Start With Watergate."
- **SNAFU Watch:** The government's bureaucratic blunders, by Ora Gygi.



But you *will* find them in coming issues of *National Review* (and *only* in *National Review*). Articles like these are important to you for this good reason —*they keep you in touch with the "other" point of view* and that's come to be a necessity for the truly informed person in these days of "homogenized" news reporting.

What's more, you'll find that keeping up with the news the NR way helps you to better evaluate what you *do* read in the "news magazines" (or see on TV). NR gives your own opinions the critical balance that can make your views and conversations more interesting—because it's one magazine that really *does* give you the view from the other side. And backs it up.

But the benefits of getting *National Review* regularly don't stop with this special coverage of current events. There is an abundance of other features to expand your horizons and delight your sense of humor. The book section with its discerning reviews of really important books is a treasure in itself. Movies and plays get the same unusual treatment. There are also articles on the latest in travel, food and wine, music, and so on. To say nothing of the inimitable cartoons of Gauerke, Mal and others. In short, the regular readers of *National Review* keep up with the arts and manners of our times – but from a refreshingly different point of view.

All of which makes NR one of the best buys around. And all *you* have to do to start enjoying this genuinely interesting magazine regularly is to fill out the postpaid card (opposite) and mail it back to us. It entitles you to ten big issues (20 weeks) of *National Review* at the special low rate (for new subscribers only) of just $7.50. A bargain price indeed for some of the best journalism in America. Send in the handy card today. It's the first step in the *right* direction.

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have been an all-out effort to place controlled CIA agents within the Politburo.

At the same time, CIA was attempting to support Ukrainian, Polish, and Albanian resistance movements. I was involved in the latter, which failed, as Rositzke points out, partly because Kim Philby was handling the MI-6 side of the joint U.S.-British operation. Rositzke's account of the WIN operation in Poland is brief and bitter: the resistance leaders quickly came under control of Polish intelligence and were "played back" against CIA, the operation becoming a reprise of the Abwehr's "Nordpol" deception of the British in WW II, and another embarrassing failure of U.S. intelligence.

The book is filled with factual, non-romanticized first-hand accounts of CIA's clandestine activities, which, as Rositzke puts it, "however unpalatable to the Congress or the public, were fully authorized by the President or the National Security Council." Nonetheless, as they "came to light from congressional leaks and investigative reporting [they] were portrayed as further examples of CIA's improper if not illegal behavior," to support the media's canard that the CIA was a sort of uncontrolled "secret government." This unwarranted publicity has cost CIA the trust of previously cooperating intel-

ligence services around the world, as well as the confidence, on the part of potential defectors, in the ability of the U.S. to safeguard their identity after resettlement.

Such losses cannot be gauged—certainly not by such as Senator Church, who labeled CIA "a rogue elephant rampaging out of control." The manufactured atmosphere of CIA unreliability hampers America's capacity to act effectively and robs our foreign policy of its "third arm" at a time when, given Soviet intransigence at the SALT II negotiations, the United States may need covert operations more than ever. □

The Natural Superiority of Southern Politicians: A Revisionist History
By David Leon Chandler
Doubleday, 373 pp., $10

THROWING THE DART

VICTOR GOLD

One hundred pages into this paean to Jimmy Carter's metapolitical ancestors, I recalled the scene from Mel Brook's first classic, *The Producers*, in which a manic postwar Nazi loon goes berserk when someone mentions Winston Churchill and Adolf Hitler in the same breath. "Shurshill!" he explodes. "Let me tell you somezing. Shurshill was *never* in Hitler's class. Hitler was a better *dresser* than Shurshill, Hitler was a better *dancer* than Shurshill, Hitler could *tell a better joke* than Shurshill!"

If you're a reader who takes book titles lightly, be forewarned that, yes, it is David Leon Chandler's thesis that Daniel Webster was *never* in John C. Calhoun's class; that Jefferson was a better *dresser* than Hamilton; that John Randolph was a better *dancer* than John Quincy Adams; and that, more recently, Sam Ervin could *tell a better joke* than Ev Dirksen.

Chandler, understand, has written a Thesis history, capital T; which is to say, he proceeds from Sonnenberg's Principle of perceived truth and interpretation—after Ben Sonnenberg, the public relations entrepreneur, who compared the skill involved in successfully handling a PR account to a dart game in which, "First you throw your dart, then you draw a circle around wherever it hit: *that* was the target."

Here the author's title is his dart; the 373 pages of Southern political lore, his circle. His Thesis, beginning with page one, is simply that "the South has produced the pre-eminent geniuses of all American political history." Before the reader can turn the page, he is advised that Southerners "invented" 1) the Declaration of Independence; 2) the Constitution; 3) "the balancing of governmental powers between three equal houses—the legislative, executive, and judiciary"; 4) the Bill of Rights; 5) the doctrine of judicial review.

Pause for breath: 6) the United States Senate; 7) the filibuster; 8) the seniority system. Not to overlook 9) Woodrow Wilson's New Freedom; 10) Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal; 11) the United Nations; and 12) Lyndon Johnson's Great Society. With the best, of course, yet to come, from an incumbent Southern President who, in one kinetic, besweatered body politic takes in the "Populist" tradition of Huey P. Long and Martin Luther King.

Indeed, Chandler's Thesis, if derivative, has the virtue of having been put up front, no bones about it. All history is Thesis history of one sort or another; and the author here does provide the reader the benefit of a candor not found in the works of a Thesis historian like, say, Arthur Schlesinger Jr., whose continuing series on *The Natural Superiority of Liberal Politicians* comes mislabeled under various euphemisms concerning *crises, orders, Presidencies, etc.*

But having said that, let me add, as a Southerner, that one man's revisionism is another's standard text. Chandler is only marketing to a national audience the revanchist pap that Southerners have been spoonfeeding their young for generations: the idea that though the Yankees won the "War between the States," it was not because of any intellectual (and certainly not any *moral*) superiority. No. Northerners are crass, crude, commercial, while the South's "way of life" produces "naturally superior" cultural breeds; though at the time my down-home purveyors of that comforting myth were trying to instill it into me and my classmates, they hardly thought to include any Martin Luther Kings in the sales pitch.

CONCEDED THEN, I am probably the wrong critic for this book. I am damn well sated with the creeping James Dickeyism that has come with having a Southerner in the White House, the heavy-breathing exploitation of the region as a package for media marketing. Dickey slobbering over Tom Snyder's microphone is enough; Robert Scheer discovering the virtues of the simple life of southwest Georgia is too much.

Chandler, to the dart's point, would appear to be a Thesis historian riding the Sunbelt-chic crest. But I am, as I say, not the best judge. It could be that what we have here is a needed antidote to generations of Northerners

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spoonfeeding their young with the natural inferiority of Southerners in general. Be that as it may, let me suggest that whether the reader be revanchist Southerner or crass, crude Yankee, there is only one way to absorb this book: in a hammock, sipping a mint julep, background music by the University of Georgia band playing "The Bonnie Blue Flag," up tempo. □

Moments of Being
By Virginia Woolf
Harcourt, 207 pp., $8.95

THE WOOLF CULT

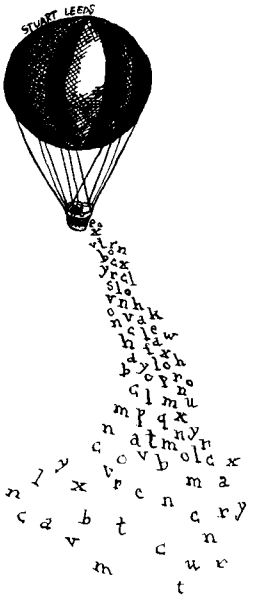
VINCENT MILLER

Reviewing this book in *Newsweek* a short time ago ("a new collection of her autobiographical writings" which gives us "biography's greatest gift"), Margo Jefferson commented upon the thriving nature of "the Virginia Woolf revival." She also noted that "articles lamenting the 'cult'" were appearing. I had not seen any of these myself, but this review certainly falls into that category.

Having witnessed the Eliot industry, the Joyce industry, and, finally, the Pound industry, and having noted that they were gradually restoring taste to that level of bland ignorance it occupied when Eliot came along to reform it sixty years ago, one realized that a Virginia Woolf revival was in the offing. After all, it was something approaching the present level of creative and critical nullity that fifty years ago billed Virginia Woolf, Joyce, and Proust as all really of equal merit. One can do little with that kind of mind. Add the fact that Virginia Woolf was a feminist of sorts, and that Bloomsbury (so essential to her fame) was, without doubt, a significant forerunner of our intellectual and sexual emancipations, and we have in her a heroine our age can look to. (She even loved to use the word "bugger," the one epithet *The New York Review of Books* tells us we still seem prudishly to avoid. She uses it often in these memoirs.)

The small book of memoirs under review here contains five autobiographical sketches written over three decades. These sketches, like everything Virginia Woolf wrote, have as their motivating force that concern for "the self," that search for "an illusive will o' the wisp, always just ahead on the horizon, flickering and insubstantial," that Jeanne Schulkind, the editor of this volume, rightly says gives "a remarkable unity" to Virginia Woolf's "art, thought, and sensibility." She did devote her life to the pursuit of that "substantial unity of the soul" which T. S. Eliot began his critical career by repudiating; she dedicated herself to capturing that "will o' the wisp" the nineteenth century had substituted for the person, determined to preserve that "bourgeois construct" that, before her time, Strindberg and Chekhov had tried to destroy, and from which, in her time, T. S. Eliot sought to escape to the love of God. From that concern, all her achievements and failures had to flow. It was a truth she herself worried about. "Have I the power of conveying the true reality?" she wrote. "Or do I write essays about myself?"

She wrote essays about herself. Hers was a concern that had almost died with those Victorians who, like her famous father, devoted their lives to perfecting in public, and even in semi-private, roles of which the world could approve. By 1910 there was little glamor left in the game. The Renaissance world of achievement and strut had finally played itself out; the stage had shrunk: Shakespeare's "great globe" had given way to little social salons, where women came and went, talking of Michelangelo. Virginia Woolf inherited this world, a world of tag-ends and fragments circling about in the minds of very unheroic little Prufrocks.



It was a world she found still worth the candle; she embraced it with pathetic passion. As she saw it, twentieth century literature would be significant only to the degree that it devoted itself to pinning down in "a season of failures and fragments" what little remained of the self; this became her program. Wyndham Lewis had immediate fun with the idea that James Joyce —one of Virginia's gods —was given to writing "failures and fragments," and suggested that the idea of such etiolated art had caught on so well because most of the influential people in the contemporary literary world, like Virginia's friends in Bloomsbury, were themselves capable of little else.

And Lewis was right, at least right that Virginia Woolf's Bloomsbury was essential to her success. It still is; through it a mode of being that is essential to her significance passed down to us. Through Bloomsbury, the Victorian Prig, his mind set on acting a part he should have been ashamed of, gave way to the Anti-Victorian Bugger, intent on acting equally self-aggrandizing roles, whose course one could easily plot merely by reading the old roles ass-backward. From Bloomsbury, the mode passed without further significant change into our own age's concern to assert its being through a passionate attachment to fragments, shock, and the search for identity.

It was this shift from Victorian to "modern" that Virginia Woolf sought to define throughout her memoirs, blurring always the distinction between art and life which Eliot had, during her lifetime, taken such pains to insist upon. The best thing that can be said for the result is that these essays fail to transform what she once called "the cotton wool" of life into the pattern of art, and therefore interest the wrong kinds of people.

This is the position John Bayley took in *The New York Review of Books* a few months ago, writing that it is "difficult not to feel that the industry of memoir, biography, letters and fragments, which is now gathering momentum, not only obscures the image of her best work, but appeals primarily to those who are not in any case concerned with it." I'd like to put it that way; but so far as I can see, there is little essential difference between these sketches and the more significant work Bayley admires. Along with the Virginia Woolf "cult," I'd have to say that these memoirs do give us "biography's greatest gift," showing us pretty nearly what, as an artist, Virginia Woolf amounted to—and why. □

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ART

ANGLOMANIA

RUTH BERENSON

The reputation of English artists has long suffered in comparison with that of its writers; they have been aesthetic outcasts, thought hardly worthy of consideration. Even the stately portraits of Thomas Gainsborough and Sir Joshua Reynolds, so highly prized by America's turn-of-the-century collectors, came to seem superficial, especially when compared to the glorious counterparts produced by Italian, French, Spanish, or Dutch artists. William Blake's mystical watercolors, long considered little more than adjuncts to his poetry, are now more justly valued; so are Constable and Turner, who have been recognized as among the great innovators of the nineteenth century. Yet apart from a few such names, British art has been, to most people, an unknown quantity, a presumptive wasteland.

One man who holds a diametrically opposed view is Paul Mellon, who for the past twenty years or so has had a corner on the English art market. When he first started buying, he was regarded, with the indulgence customarily accorded millionaires, as an amiable eccentric. But this view was considerably revised when he allowed parts of his collection to be shown publicly, first at the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts in Richmond in 1963 and subsequently at Britain's own Royal Academy. Now he has given his vast accumulation, along with an $18-million building designed by the late Louis Kahn, to Yale University, from which he graduated in 1929. Containing some 30,000 objects dating from the Elizabethan period to the mid-nineteenth century, the brand-new Yale Center for British Art enables Americans to reassess more justly the work of our cultural forebears.

The new building—across the street from the Yale Art Gallery, an earlier Kahn design—is unpretentious on the outside, conforming to that well-known British trait, reticence. On the insistence of New Haven's tax-hungry city fathers, it houses a block of stores on the street level and at first glance looks like an ordinary commercial structure. The inside is another matter. Kahn has adhered to his usual practice of exposing the structural elements—the concrete columns, the V-beams of the ceilings—and has enclosed the circular staircase in a concrete cylinder that juts abruptly into the double-storied central hall; but he has yet managed to create spaces well suited to the mostly small, intimate works of art. The main exhibition area is on the top floor and is provided with natural skylighting, a welcome break with the near-universal practice of excluding daylight from museums as if it were the plague.

Mr. Mellon attributes his Anglomania to his English mother and to a passion for fox-hunting and English country life that first manifested itself when his father, Andrew Mellon, was American Ambassador to the Court of St. James's. Study at Yale under such professors as Chauncey Tinker and William Lyon Phelps exacerbated his interest. As a graduate student in Cambridge, where he apparently spent most of his time boating on the Cam, he started buying illustrated books on sport and in 1935 acquired the first of his many pictures by George Stubbs, a portrait of the racehorse Pumpkin. When he began collecting seriously in 1959, he took advantage of the fact that, apart from such well-known artists as Hogarth, Turner, and Constable, English art was underpriced (not that this could have mattered much to Mr. Mellon); moreover, as an impoverished aristocracy beset by death duties and rising taxes tried to raise cash by selling off household treasures, that art had become a glut on the market.

The collection as now unveiled has its weak points—the eighteenth century Scottish neo-classicists, for instance, are only sparsely represented, and the American-born Copley and West can be seen to better advantage elsewhere. But on the whole, there's little to complain about and much to savor, including the many foreigners who contributed to English art: Rubens, represented by a brilliant study for part of the ceiling of the Banqueting House in Whitehall; Van Dyck; Canaletto; and a host of little-known but charming Dutch painters who immigrated to England in the late seventeenth century and helped lay the foundations for the eighteenth century native flowering.

It is in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries that the collection is strongest. Among the highlights are Stubbs's *Leopard*, seen in the lush greenery of a park; one of Hogarth's *Beggar's Opera* scenes; Constable's *Hadleigh Castle*, a miraculous rendering of the silvery wetness of just-stopped rain; John Martin's fiery *Bard*, full of the romantic bravura one normally associates with Delacroix. For those curious about what life was like in "that green and pleasant land," a many-sided view of it is presented in the form of a temporary exhibition felicitously titled, "The Pursuit of Happiness," which occupies the building's second floor.

Future expansion may permit the inclusion of the mid-nineteenth century realists and the Pre-Raphaelites, who didn't appeal to Mr. Mellon. As it is, Yale, already a magnet for students of English literature on account of its precious Horace Walpole and James Boswell papers, is now a mecca for all pilgrims seeking to learn about that urbane and idyllic civilization which was eighteenth century Britain. □

HEALTH

THE LATEST INDIGNITY

JANE BUCKLEY SMITH

There are forebodings—and there are forebodings. I am forebodeful, for instance, of the Peanut Reign,* of not getting my skis parallel in front of Bill, of someday, somewhere, having to give a speech. But everything is relative: when you face up to some things (Bill doesn't really slug me if I do a

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teentsie stem), they may not be so bad as you'd foreboded; but then, again, they pretty-damn-well may.

There must be natives in Darkest Africa* who have never known the sickening feeling of having the dentist return yet once again to a certain tooth, to pick . . . to probe . . . to go on, and . . . to return. Darkest Africa begins to sound attractive. So when your friendly dentist suggests, his tone carefully, studiedly reassuring, that perhaps you should see a periodontist—that's it. Sweat-making. *The* end.

It's something new, this Scaling (ugh) and Curettage (ugh^2) treatment. X-rays, first. X-rays that inevitably reveal that the inflammation and bacterial allergy that 90 per cent of us over thirty are blessed with has caused some bone to be resorbed. (That's what the doctor *said*. He even spelled it. I think if I'd been God I would have skipped teeth altogether.) Those are the dark, empty-looking spots where there should be big globs of supporting bone around healthy roots. Then you know the axe hath fallen. You're for it.

I PURPOSELY blanked out when my kindly periodontist started to explain the actual process. During the seven sessions (they can run anywhere from two to 22—sessions, that is, AND thousands of dollars) I a) planned my daughter's wedding (smashing), b) prayed the good Lord to give me credit in Purgatory for present discomfort, and c) planned an expensive shopping spree. (It was.)

After the whole thing was over, I inquired as to what those seven hands in my mouth had been about. What they had been about I'm now glad I didn't know. But this is an informative article, so brace yourself.

First: scads of xylocaine, lovely xylocaine. Then the gum is opened around the roots. (And those roots can be exposed an extraordinarily long way down from the crown that shows. Iceberg-like.) The infected tissue is removed (don't dwell on this; you don't feel it), and the plaque deposits are cleaned off the roots so that healthy gum can re-adhere to them. You are then sewn up in such a way that the pockets between the teeth are minimized. Then they decorate you.

This well-intentioned butcher, who really suffers with you (and broke I

am after the treatment, so I'll *sell* you his name for $50), sends you out from your first ordeal with a sheet of post-ordeal instructions. They deal, humorlessly, and justly so, with two problems. The first is the packed dressings they put on you before you leave the torture chamber so as to prevent your bleeding to death, dressings decorated with silver foil. Flash a smile at the cab driver and he'll be sure to get you home fast. The instructions give you leave to remove the foil if it is "irritating the cheek lining or the tongue." I don't know about you, but anytime I have foil in my mouth it's going to irritate me. Food, *sí*; foil, *no*. *And* "if there is an electrical sensation"—read, shock—"remove foil." I tell you, this man is understanding.

NUMBER TWO instruction deals with "discomfort." It is admitted there may be tenderness—with a zillion stitches there wouldn't be?—so swallow your painkillers, gargle with opiates (I gargled with bourbon, neat), but do not fail to "resume your prescribed plaque control measures": run that toothpick around your gums (do try to miss the stitches), scrape away with the floss, use the pointed brush between the teeth, be stoic. You must keep the area clean, and you can always get a transfusion at your handy hospital in the morning.

The treatment is new. Once you've gone through it, though, you find that all your friends, those who have attained the half-century mark, have either been there (the relieved ones with the sparkling clean teeth), or are facing it (the sweaty ones with dingy teeth). The alternative used to be full or partial dentures, risky bridge-work, root canals, etc. Talk about the free enterprise system.* False teeth makers will have to cinch in the belt, but those cagey ones who have read it right and are busy manufacturing and marketing "perio-aids"—proxabrush bristles (and don't forget those refills), floss, chloraseptic mouthwashes, numbing toothpastes, small get-everywhere toothbrushes, gum stimulators; not to mention antibiotics, mild pain-killers, strong pain-killers, tranquilizers, bullets—they're the ones who will be making fortunes. We, the patients, will be losing the dough but keeping the bones.

So remember my tip. As long as you can dissociate yourself from what's happening you can survive with a minimum of trauma. True, those teeth you'll die with will have gaps between them; clean gaps, but gaps; your day will be shortened by the 45 minutes it now takes you to clean your increasingly precious teeth; and those expensive caps you had made to fool everyone, yourself included, as to the state of your teeth will show an interesting black rim around the gum line, more interesting to your friends than to you, and especially fascinating to children—outspoken children.

Yes, it's worth it. It's worth it, it's worth it, it's *worth* it. And what doctor (NB: name on reque$t) you've ever gone to sends you home gift-wrapped? □

*This is *not* a political article.

The GIMLET EYE

MY CANDIDATE FOR MAYOR

D. KEITH MANO

Intermediate School 70: in a sullen, child-kicked auditorium. We gather—gather? this crowd is so small it couldn't get arrested for unlawful assembly—we huddle to discuss New York City education with the mayoral candidates. ABZUG, BEAME, COSTIKYAN, CUOMO, SUTTON, KOCH, GOODMAN: snide signs on each empty chair are conspicuous by their presence. There should be signs in the orchestra pit, too: absent CITIZEN #1 through absent CITIZEN #800 or so. A self-singing PTA chair-

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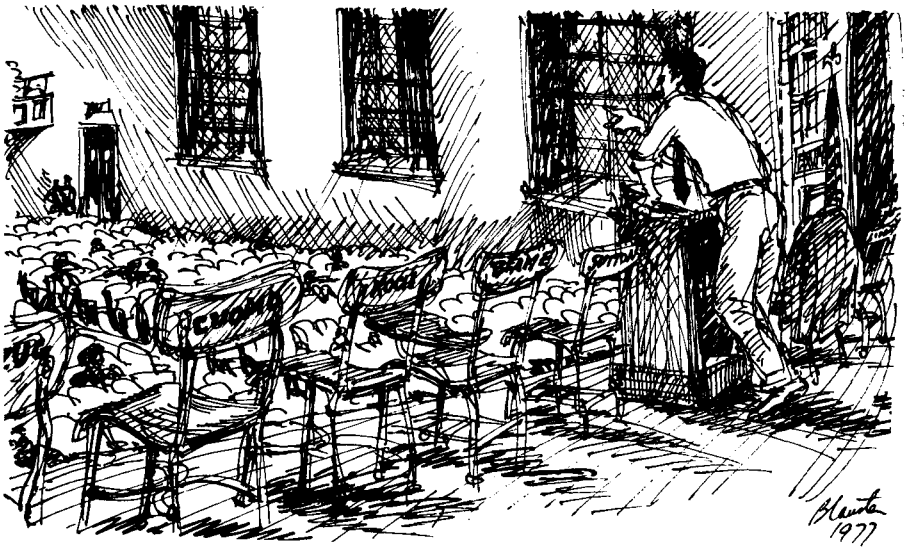
man wanes indignant: "I think it's fair to say that those who didn't appear or didn't send a representative either don't consider education an important matter or else they were afraid to face the questions of parents in an open forum such as this one."

Me, I don't wonder why BEAME and CUOMO noshowed. Half the turn-out is Socialist Workers Party plants. Plus one man whose decline into absolute nakedness depends entirely on three strands of worn clothesline; and yet another—his woodwork so impregnated with alcohol that he is coherent only to those who have had at least six straight bourbon slugs. He will say, "I stand here anang u roigle someblast thum wull and farnum. I stand here sumble wo nung gar, *gar* his soshos." That second, purely rhetorical, *gar* did belabor it a bit.

Now, don't let anyone con you, NYC's public education is splendid and thorough: in parked cars, tenement stairwells, gay bars, grim bars, bookie joints, massage parlors, gang clubhouses. At age eight I got more insight into simple subtraction being mugged on an IRT platform than Miss Denver, my fourth grade heart-throb, could ever have taught me. Though no academic credit is given, points may be applied toward future matriculation in the State University of New York at Elmira or Attica. As for long division —as for short division—NEXT WINDOW PLEASE. The three Rs in New York stand for rum, rowdiness, and retardation. And mayoral candidates affect me like one half-gallon of Strawberry Hill on a cicada-sung August afternoon. That is: I'm asleep already in IS 70.

THEN ALERT already. Joel Harnett has put in a wake-up call. Harnett is gradually handsome: you have to live with his face for five or six minutes. A touch like Fred Gwynne doing Herman Munster. The eyes seem to have old shiners; they're bruise-blue underneath: someone getting over last week's street fight. You figure Harnett won. He's a businessman (publisher), an ex-army major, a past chairperson (seven unpaid years) of the good-government City Club, and (his candidacy excepted) a man of immaculate good sense. Put your ear to this:

"The education budget in New York City runs in the neighborhood of $2.8 billion. In fact California educates one million more students than the State of New York for one billion less dollars. When we looked at the budget it became apparent that the fringe benefits of our teachers were very high. It costs the city $31,000 for each teacher, and the teacher doesn't see that money. You could raise salary—and cut fringe benefits—and teachers would be better off. And the city would be a hell of a lot better off. If the vacation schedules in the city alone conformed to the vacation schedules in New York State, this city would save $100 million.



"We pay $1.20 for our school lunches. The Federal Government gives us a subsidy of 85 cents. Milwaukee gets the same subsidy and it costs them 80 to 85 cents. Las Vegas does it for 75 cents. The difference between what we pay and the federal subsidy is $35 million.

"During the period 1969 to 1974 we added 16,000 teachers. There was no reading improvement: no improvement in writing or arithmetic. There should be public monitoring of teacher effectiveness. You don't just give salary increases across the board. The successful teacher or principal is an urban hero: he should have unlimited income. But if you can't teach—out."

One other candidate will play to this thin house: Catarino Garza, edgeless tool of the Socialist Workers Party. Garza is a thug: an anonymous corpse left around in some Clint Eastwood film. The society may not be classless, but Garza is: a sneering hood. He kidney-punches Harnett. "I wouldn't trust you to run the city . . . what you consider most important is money and making a profit." "How many blacks and Puerto Ricans do you find in the publishing industry?" Harnett ignores Garza: as you would ignore someone who fished earwax out at the dinner table. Nationalization, anti-defense, charges of racism: the SWP is bathetic and pathetic. Garza, a bilingual teacher, has to attack his own union: "The UFT better start worrying about education, not just its pension plan." Funny how workers, once they get an Albert Shanker of their own, seem to think Karl Marx was Zeppo's real name. Worse, ha, SWP will denounce "the colonial settler State of Israel." Garza would have a better shot at Damascus' mayoral race, if there is one.

HARNETT, meanwhile, has been making political love to me. When Garza says again, again, again, "I'm a worker," Harnett replies, "I'm a businessman, but I also work—and sometimes harder than my employees. We have to go after the monopolists, and one of them—just one—is the municipal labor unions. Why should the sanitation department have a monopoly on cleaning up the city streets? Some people think they can run schools better than the Board of Ed. Maybe they ought to be given a chance."

Music: I can dance to it. Afterward Harnett will tell me that the Conservative Party almost anointed him. Barry Farber, a radio talk show person, got Conservative sponsorship instead. Farber is good: I suppose he could claim better visibility (or audibility). But Farber has lost before. I suspect that the Conservative Party blew an opportunity. Harnett is new and sharp. And he'd have my vote. He'd have it if I still lived in New York. Unfortunately my children couldn't wait for a Joel Harnett. □

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BOOKS IN BRIEF

RUNNING FOR PRESIDENT 1976: *The Carter Campaign, by Martin Schram (Stein & Day, 406 pp., $11.95).* As a technical study of successful and unsuccessful campaign stratagems and operations, this is a reasonably good account of how the Carter campaign made it. Carter's early plan of entering and capturing the key Iowa caucus and the vital New Hampshire and Florida primaries; the inept strategy of Jackson; the slipshod operations of Udall; the drifting and often over-confident focus of the Carter forces following their man's momentum-setting early successes; and the non-campaign of Jerry Ford—which nearly unhinged the whole design—are all nicely detailed. But whoever desires an objective and uninvolved portrait of the 1976 election will be disappointed in this book. For Schram, a *Newsday* correspondent, has obviously crossed the line between reportage and advocacy. His admiration for Jimmy Carter and his campaign organization should be apparent to even a casual observer: it is not fulsome, but it is not particularly well veiled, either. This absence of objectivity, coupled with a style that sacrifices genuine insight for detail, leaves the book flat, incomplete, and with an oddly out of focus view of the unlikely group that put Jimmy Carter in the White House. DAVID A. PIETRUSZA

THE GATES OF EDEN: *American Culture in the Sixties, by Morris Dickstein (Basic Books, 300 pp., $11.95).* Near the end of this book, the author gratuitously offers the comment that "we're all modernists today." In the annals of presumption, this ranks somewhere between Thomas Jefferson's Inaugural statement, "We are all Democrats, we are all Federalists," and the dubious dictum that "everybody loves a loser." I'm sure that John Adams raised an eyebrow or two when he heard the former statement, and I can assure Mr. Dickstein that, in cultural terms, there are plenty of us around who take exception to his own comment. Be that as it may, it provides us with an accurate key to his own feelings about culture in the Sixties. If anyone hopes to find here a complete survey of American culture during that decade, he will be sorely disappointed. Dickstein is an English professor, and he spends 95 per cent of his book analyzing the fiction—Jewish, black, and experimental—of the Sixties. The other 5 per cent he uses to analyze those other profound American art forms of that era—folk and rock music. (To give respect where it is due, though, I must say that Dickstein's analysis of Bob Dylan's music is the best I have ever read.) Certainly the panorama which his title indicates should have included, to be complete, some analysis of the serious music, art, drama, architecture, and sculpture of America in the Sixties. Not that the increased scope would have proved that decade to be any less wanting. For what Dickstein, borrowing from Dylan, terms "The Gates of Eden" appeared to many of us to be rather the portals to what the late Richard Hofstadter called "The Age of Rubbish."

ALLEN G. WEAKLAND

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF THE COLD WAR, *by Morton Kaplan (Nelson Hall, 301 pp., $17.50).* In these days, when "building a new world order" is code for watching Third World leaders do what they want and hoping Russia and China aren't such bad guys after all, Morton Kaplan's history of a few cold war battles is a good antidote. Most of the book consists of case studies he wrote in 1954 or 1955. The analysis is occasionally at odds with itself: at Yalta we viewed Russian intentions "through rosy glasses," but somehow avoided a "gross misconception of Soviet motivations." Nevertheless, Kaplan's book will disabuse revisionist minds of some treasured myths. Kaplan's 1954 essays, for instance, make the theory that American businessmen cooked up the Marshall Plan sound more unbelievable than ever. Convinced of the moral superiority of democracy, Kaplan delivers stinging criticism aimed at Western intellectuals dissatisfied with their democratic countries. He argues that we should quit supporting regimes whose sole recommendation is their anti-Communism; but he also rejects *Realpolitik*. Rather, he argues, we should actively subvert the status quo in Communist countries and intervene convincingly when "national liberation movements" are clearly the work of our very active foes. The prospects are not good that Kaplan's perspective—which is similar to Daniel Moynihan's—will be the one to emerge from the fog which so far obscures Jimmy Carter's foreign policy. But alternative "new world order" programs, which lack Kaplan's keen perception of the nature of our enemies and betray a disaffection with the democracy Kaplan prefers, inspire little confidence. DANIEL E. RITCHIE

HARRY HOPKINS: *A Biography, by Henry H. Adams (Putnam, 448 pp., $15).* Except that he evidently did *not* say, "We will spend and spend, tax and tax, elect and elect," and was not really Franklin Roosevelt's Svengali, everything else you've ever heard about Harry Hopkins seems to be true. Henry H. Adams does much to wipe away the myths that have developed concerning Hopkins' alleged super-power in FDR's inner circle, and even more to document the remarkable service of this Iowa-born social worker from the first through the last year of his Chief's Administrations. And in chronicling the history of this widely distrusted and much misunderstood man, the author contributes an important volume to the major literature on the New Deal and the war years. No one—not Louis Howe, not Missy LeHand, not Lucy Rutherfurd, not Eleanor Roosevelt, not Harold Ickes—had the influence with FDR that Hopkins had. No one else had as significant a role in both the domestic and foreign activities of the Roosevelt Administration, nor anyone else his ability to know and respond to Roosevelt's wishes. Hopkins earned the undying enmity of the New Deal's critics because of his central role in the Works Progress Administration, in the big spending that came to be the hallmark of the 1930s activities of FDR's government, in developing the central philosophy of the New Deal. Professor Adams makes a good case for his argument that Roosevelt hoped to make Hopkins President in 1940, but the frail Hopkins was by that year unable to continue in government service; it was then that he took his only prolonged holiday from Roosevelt's side. But soon he was back at (and living in) the White House, directing Lend-Lease, and smoothing the way for the relationship between Churchill and Roosevelt. Adams argues convincingly that Hopkins was central to the development of what we now call the Imperial Presidency, that this man with a "mind like a sponge . . . [and] a mind like a limpet" became not only the first real "assistant President" but also the person indispensable to Roosevelt's governance, and Roosevelt's true alter-ego. Hopkins' is a vital story never before told so well or so completely; and if Adams' book does nothing to appease Roosevelt's critics, it does much to help round out the picture of the workings of Roosevelt's government. DAVID BRUDNOY

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Dark Horses

LAST TIME AROUND I noted, with the allusive casualness deemed proper for all book reviewers, the awful ruin that awaits the Social Security system as it gets hit by our declining birth rates.

In case you were wondering how I know so much, the answer is I cribbed it, as we knowing alluders often do, from some other books that I had just been reading. E.g., *The Crisis in Social Security*, latest offering of a nascent think-tank called the Institute for Contemporary Studies (Suite 812, 260 California St., San Francisco, 94111; $5.95). A distinguished, ideologically balanced group of experts (Milton Friedman, Joseph Pechman, Edward Cowan, Rita Campbell, Martin Feldstein, editor Michael Boskin) succeeded in convincing me that Social Security will go broke c. 2000—about the time that I am due to start collecting.

Among the specifics: Social Security is now disbursing $75 billion or so a year, up from a mere $1 billion as recently as 1950. Per capita taxes for the program have jumped from $60 a year in 1949 to $1,930.50 in 1976, and further stupendous hikes are in the offing. The system is running in the red by better than $3 billion on an annual basis, and its much-touted trust fund is headed the way of the Cheshire Cat. To cover the impending deficit, levies ranging up to 29 per cent of taxable income will eventually be needed.

As is argued by both Friedman and Pechman, the Social Security tax is not only huge and growing, it is also highly regressive. Pechman provides the startling datum that Social Security, as of today, is the highest tax paid by the lower two-thirds of the nation's income recipients. (This calculation assumes, as do all the authors here who touch on the point, that workers bear the total tax burden, not just the moiety subtracted from their paychecks.)

Things have reached this sorry pass, the authors observe, because Social Security was set up on the principle of a pyramid club or Ponzi swindle: benefits to retirees are financed, not by interest or dividends on real investment, but from taxes on new entrants to the work force. This functions nicely when there are lots of workers and few retirees, less nicely when the situation is reversed. Hence the ruinous impact of the declining birth rates, which will eventually convert us, as the cash runs out, into a nation of not-so-golden oldies.

Further horrific data on this theme are provided by Robert L. Schuettinger in *Saving Social Security* (Council on American Affairs, Suite 210, 1785 Massachusetts Ave., Washington, D.C. 20036; $5), a *vade mecum* of existing Social Security problems and projected programs of reform. By 1984, Schuettinger informs us, annual payments may well attain the sum of $250 billion. By 1990, the maximum tax will be $4,-140.90; by 2011, $13,410. By the year 2050, thanks to a double-dipping escalator clause enacted by the Congress, maximum benefits (assuming anybody is going to pay them) could be as high as $34,000 *a month*.

APART FROM its intrinsic terrors, a spending schedule of this mind-boggling scope has dislocatory effects on the economy. Harvard's Feldstein figures that enormous taxing levels for Social Security depress the rate of private saving (as much as $80 billion a year right now) and thus investment and GNP—a conclusion supported, on somewhat different grounds, by Norman Ture and Barbara Fields in *The Future of Private Pension Plans* (American Enterprise Institute, 1150 17th St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036; $3).

These authors argue that Social Security levies diminish private saving generally, but that private pension plans, because of efficiencies and tax advantages, can continue to flourish anyway. More serious in threatening such plans, they say, is the "pension reform" adopted by Congress in 1974, which by raising costs may destroy the features which make this form of saving attractive. Some of the technical lingo is tough going for the layman, but the book provides a valuable comparison of Social Security *v.* authentic private pensions.

—M. STANTON EVANS

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Solution to Last Issue's Trans-O-Gram

O. HENRY TALE:

Telemachus, Friend

Friendship is an ancient virtue enacted in the days when men had to protect each other against lizards with eighty-foot tails and flying turtles. They've kept up the habit to this day and stand by each other till the bellboy comes up and tells them the animals are not really there.

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WM. F. BUCKLEY JR.

The CIA and Cuba

On The Right

New York, June 12—On Friday, June 10, CBS played a stunning documentary called *The CIA's Secret Army*. It is perhaps the most ambitious thing of the kind ever undertaken, and treats the gravest themes in recent American history. Although in a crucial respect tendentious—it is studiously sympathetic to Fidel Castro—it is otherwise unsparing in its exposures. In fact, if there are leading bad-men in the two-hour documentary they are, by the lights of CBS, none other than John F. and Robert Kennedy. It is as if the Vatican had released a historical study the villains of which were Saints Peter and Paul.

Here, boiled down, is the narrative according to CBS.

1. In the late Eisenhower years, the decision was reached to topple Castro. Almost certainly, Eisenhower authorized this being done even if assassination was required. In the executive-intelligence business, there is a factor called "deniability." This means that although the CIA must never move definitively against a target without sure knowledge that the President has authorized that movement, nevertheless there must survive no document in which the President is caught communicating the order of execution.

2. When John Kennedy became President, he authorized the CIA to pursue the vast Bay of Pigs enterprise. But when it was actually launched, as we all know, he got cold feet and drew back the air force that was to have given the Cuban liberators the necessary air cover: resulting in the capture of the invading army, and the humiliation of the United States.

3. The decision was privately reached by President Kennedy, and the policy promulgated under the CIA and his brother the Attorney General, to proceed against Castro by means other than a secret invasion. Principally, by commando raids against Cuba, economic strangulation, and the assassination of Castro himself. The commando raids against Castro were launched from a hundred different points in Florida, stretching from Miami to Key West. The economic war was coordinated by our CIA around the world. The assassination attempts were coordinated by a division of the CIA called Executive Action.

4. Castro, taking stock of his deteriorating situation, appealed to the Soviet Union for help. Castro was convinced that the activity of the CIA was a prelude to another massive invasion. Accordingly, Khrushchev responded by the famous shipment of nuclear missiles to Cuba leading to the great crisis of October 22, 1962, at which, in return for a public promise not to invade Cuba, the Russians pulled back their missiles.

5. But—the CBS documentary reveals—Kennedy's no-invasion pledge only reinforced his determination to bring down Castro by other means, and the assassination attempts were redoubled. The Mafia was contacted. Various theories were explored, calling for the discrediting of Castro by putting LSD in his cigar, so that he would appear drunk in a public speech (what would the difference be?). Or a powder in his shoes that would cause his beard to drop off. That would be like having Carter's teeth fall out in the middle of a smile. But these were rejected in favor of assassination, and, on November 22, 1963, a CIA operative met in Paris to close a deal with a high official of the Cuban government who had agreed to scratch Castro unobtrusively with a fountain pen whose deadly poison would kill Castro in minutes. It is the contention of Senator Morgan, who conducted an investigation, that this Cuban was a double agent, and that Castro was minutely informed of the overtures of the CIA. November 22, 1963 is also the day John F. Kennedy was assassinated. CBS does not underwrite, but is clearly sympathetic to, Senator Morgan's conclusion, namely, that Castro struck Kennedy down in retaliation against the continued efforts being made against Castro.

Obligingly, they put it directly to Castro on the screen. He replies: "I am going to tell you something. It would have been an absolute insanity by Cuba. It would have been an irresponsible act if Cuba had gone to such a venture as planning the death of the President of the United States. This was crazy. It was a colossal insanity."

Is there a word in Spanish for "deniability"? □

RESTRAINED TOTALISM *New York*, June 14—CBS's masterly documentary *The CIA's Secret Army*—let us get this point made, and out of the way—suffers from excessive toleration for Fidel Castro and something less than a sure grasp of American history. In two hours, for instance, not a mention is made of the Monroe Doctrine. That Doctrine was in effect repealed by President Kennedy when, during the October 1962 crisis, he promised Khrushchev not to invade Cuba.

But a major point of the CBS documentary is that although Kennedy lived up to his word about not invading Cuba, in fact he had every intention of deposing Castro. By assassinating him. CBS, through narrator Bill Moyers—who provides the perfect organ tones of pious stoicism—registers a sustained mix of horror, indignation, and resignation through it all. It is apparently inconceivable to the boys at CBS that for a good many decades Americans were implicitly committed to giving their lives, if necessary, to defend the Monroe Doctrine.

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What the documentary highlights is the awful difficulty, in the modern age, of finding an appropriate vocabulary to describe certain relationships. "Restrained totalism" may offend the rules of language, but not those of reality. What do you call it when the Soviet Union sends tanks into Czechoslovakia but does not declare war? What was it we fought in Korea, at the loss of almost fifty thousand Americans? We tried "police action" but, finally, it cloyed. We agreed to refer to the "war" in Vietnam, but there was always somebody there to point out, quite correctly, that a) we never did declare war on Vietnam; and b) we fought Vietnam in a way not appropriate to the waging of war: i.e., with an eye out for a substitute for victory. In Cuba, in 1960, a non-Strangelove Republican Administration headed by General Eisenhower, a practiced professional soldier, concluded that the Sovietization of Cuba was strategically intolerable. In that judgment a Democratic Administration, the toast of the salons of America as well as of the saloons, concurred. The result was—and still is, as witness the surviving "secret army" in Miami—the great ambiguity which CBS now ponders.

A 1954 CIA REPORT drafted by a blue-ribbon panel of U.S. citizens said, "If the United States is to survive, long-standing American concepts of 'fair play' must be reconsidered. We must learn to subvert, sabotage, and destroy our enemies by more clever, more sophisticated, and more effective methods than those used against us." Bill Moyers asked Richard Bissell, CIA official in charge of the Bay of Pigs invasion:

"Was that the prevailing ethic?"

He answered: "I think that's an excellent statement of the prevailing view, at least the view of those who had any contact with covert operations of one kind or another."

General Edward Lansdale, on being brought in by Robert Kennedy to run the secret "war" against Castro, put it bluntly: "We are in a combat situation where we've been given full command."

American policy toward the Soviet Union and its ancillary bases has become progressively easygoing. President Carter speaks about our past "inordinate" fear of Communism. Since it is obvious that normal men have every reason to shrink from the prospect of, say, living in a Siberian concentration camp, we are bound to ask ourselves the question: "Why is our fear inordinate?" The only plausible answer is: "Because the Soviet Union isn't strong enough to impose its way of life upon us." The next question is: "What is it that keeps them from achieving that strength?" And then the crucial question, posed indirectly by the CBS documentary: "If the Soviet Union is not as strong as it would like to be, isn't that in part because of our efforts to recognize, and act upon, an existential relationship, as distinct from a juridical relationship?"

We are not "at war" with Soviet imperialism, but we are at war with it. □

A DEFENSE FUND

New York, June 20—A fortnight ago, a letter went out to a few hundred prominent Americans signed by William E. Simon, former Secretary of the Treasury, as spokesman for an organizing committee comprising himself, former ambassador Clare Boothe Luce, and former Senator James L. Buckley. They had set up a "Citizens' Legal Defense Fund for the FBI," catalyzed by the indictment of FBI agent John J. Kearney, who is scheduled to be tried for illegally tapping the telephones and otherwise interfering with the privacy of persons suspected of complicity with the Weather Underground, which, during the late Sixties and early Seventies, pursued a policy of blowing up random Americans in order to express dissent from American policies. Mr. Simon and his associates interpret the decision by the Justice Department to go after Kearney as an expression of a general assault on the FBI and the CIA, an act of harassment; and his request for funds to help Kearney (he asked that checks be sent to 95 Madison Avenue, Suite 608, New York, N.Y. 10016) has been answered by an ecumenical avalanche of persons who believe that the harassment of the FBI is exactly what is afoot. One would expect Senator Goldwater, Commander Lloyd Bucher, and Phyllis Schlafly to respond to Mr. Simon's appeal. But what about (to mention only a few) Charles Addams, the cartoonist? Murray Baron, one of the founders of the Liberal Party of New York? Allen Drury, the novelist. Loren Eiseley, the philosopher of science. Eric Hoffer, the fiercely individualistic longshoreman. Frank Borman, the astronaut-president of Eastern Airlines. Peter Hurd, the artist. Dina Merrill, the entertainer. And, the biggest catch of the lot, Leon Jaworski, special prosecutor in the Watergate investigation, whose activities resulted in the resignation of Richard Nixon and the trial and conviction of the most prominent members of his political and administrative entourage? Are these people condoning illegality? We must assume that the question is more complicated than that, although the complications have not been widely advertised.

We do not know what went on in the grand jury room where agent Kearney appeared without counsel. We do know that he was regularly brought down to Washington to be decorated for superior performance of duty. We know that in 1972 the Supreme Court distinguished between what the Attorney General can legally do if he is on the track of foreign espionage or intelligence, and what he can do in domestic situations—in the latter, his authority is more clearly circumscribed. We do not know whether Kearney or his superiors had reason to suspect that there might be a foreign connection. Nor do we know whether Kearney's instructions from his superiors were explicit or merely implicit (we assume the latter from the circumstances of his high standing in the FBI).

On the broader question of harassment of the FBI, we are reminded that candidate Carter pledged that justice would be depoliticized if he became President. The first thing he did on achieving office was to reach a political judgment in respect of the draft evaders and deserters—they were following the dictates of their conscience. Could as much be said for agent Kearney? My favorite of the whole lot is Philip Agee. His most recent contribution to the United States has been the publication in a Left Greek journal of the whole roster of alleged CIA agents and contacts working there. Agee proved too much for the British, who finally kicked him out of the country a few days ago. He will return to the United States and, so far as one knows, proceed with impunity, the hero of the antinomian set. I must confess that I think of Agee as Lord Birkenhead did of the British traitor Philby, about whom he wrote, "We shall never know how many agents were killed or tortured as a result. . . . [It appears now] we must, alas, abandon any wistful dreams of seeing this little carrion gibbeted. One has, also alas, the feeling that if Mr. Philby were to reappear in England, he would go over to Oxford or somewhere to lecture on the transcendental cause he served, and be instantly acclaimed as a prophet of the new and the sublime." A country that is indifferent to the Agees and Philbys, but prosecutes its Kearneys, is out of kilter. That is the reason why men and women from the Left and from the Right have come together in protest. □

(Washington Star Syndicate, Inc.)

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Trans-O-Gram

By SVEND PETERSEN

DEFINITIONS

A. Nickname of Nelson Rockefeller's grandfather — 190 23 29 33 47 183 189 99 136 198 / 219 14 57 67

B. An examination of one's talents — 206 59 75 142 165 126 180 196 203 217 / 32 40

C. What Mrs. White was — 211 53 84 107 138 116 187 105 199 69 / 208 13 148

D. Impartial — 220 11 30 18 76 92 174 186 42 207

E. A marriage license between Big Business and Big Labor — 31 1 224 20 95 48 56 64 134 122 / 102 104 129 143 26 85 120 162

F. Moses' father-in-law (not Robert Moses'!) — 100 77 90 2 52 114

G. A German physicist—period — 34 123 22 151 46 160

H. What Conn., Maine, Mass., N.H., R.I., and Vt. cast — 45 39 78 94 86 109 137 140 65 149 / 152 168 35 179

I. Delineated or impressed clearly — 10 19 28 41 49 66

J. An Indian woman (not Mrs. Gandhi!) — 50 125 191 164 209

K. This helps in the leveling process — 83 163 60 156

L. What "free" municipal services aren't — 89 213 182 223 228 51 9 166 215

M. Another name for the dragonfly (sounds like a bird of prey in an equatorial place of worship) — 91 98 130 70 147 181 193 197 205 212 / 7 43

N. Two of the thirty-two — 97 3 63 113 124 176 118 167

O. A 1940 motion picture — 62 68 80 87 96 5 15 27 37

P. Something _____, something done. — Longfellow — 110 178 194 72 227 115 222 101 93

Q. TEETH MOAN — 135 200 103 4 73 157 121 127 54

R. Tied — 153 139 169 74 128 221

S. U. S. chess champion, 1936-'44, 1946-'48, 1969-'72 — 172 61 192 8 119 16 201 81 144

T. Enjoying single blessedness — 71 218 145 12 24 154 79 6

U. Vetoed — 141 25 55 184 106 202 175 82 159

V. An Old Testament book — 158 171 131 108 36 214 226 195

W. Feeling like participating — 173 88 58 150 132 111 117 146 21

X. Indicated agreement or boredom — 188 210 38 161 112 185

Y. A girl's name containing another girl's name and a boy's nickname — 225 133 177 155 170 44 17 216 204

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill out the puzzle diagram by guessing the words (above) from their DEFINITIONS, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled out it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes, indicating the ends of words); also, when the WORDS have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's New International Dictionary*, Second Edition.

See page 791 for Solution to last Trans-O-Gram.

	1 E	2 F	3 N		4 Q	5 O	6 T		7 M	8 S	9 L	10 I	11 D	12 T	13 C		14 A	15 O	16 S
17 Y	18 D	19 I	20 E	21 W		22 G	23 A	24 T	25 U	26 E	27 O		28 I	29 A	30 D	31 E	32 B		33 A
34 G	35 H		36 V	37 O	38 X	39 H		40 B	41 I	42 D		43 M	44 Y	45 H	46 G		47 A	48 E	49 I
	50 J	51 L	52 F	53 C	54 Q	55 U	56 E	57 A	58 W		59 B	60 K	61 S	62 O	63 N		64 E	65 H	66 I
	67 A	68 O	69 C		70 M	71 T	72 P	73 Q	74 R		75 B	76 D	77 F		78 H	79 T	80 O	81 S	82 U
83 K	84 C		85 E	86 H	87 O		88 W	89 L	90 F		91 M	92 D	93 P	94 H		95 E	96 O	97 N	
98 M	99 A	100F	101P	102E	103Q		104E	105C		106U	107C	108V		109H	110P	111W	112X		113N
114F		115P	116C	117W	118N	119S	120E	121Q		122E	123G	124N		125J	126B	127Q	128R	129E	
130M	131V	132W	133Y	134E		135Q	136A	137H	138C		139R	140H	141U	142B	143E	144S		145T	146W
147M	148C	149H		150W	151G	152H	153R		154T	155Y	156K	157Q	158V	159U	160G	161X		162E	163K
164J	165B		166L	167N	168H	169R	170Y	171V	172S		173W	174D	175U	176N	177Y	178P	179H	180B	
181M	182L		183A	184U	185X		186D	187C	188X	189A		190A	191J	192S	193M		194P	195V	196B
	197M	198A	199C	200Q	201S	202U	203B	204Y		205M	206B	207D		208C		209J	210X	211C	212M
213L		214V	215L	216Y	217B	218T	219A	220D	221R		222P	223L	224E		225Y	226V	227P	228L	

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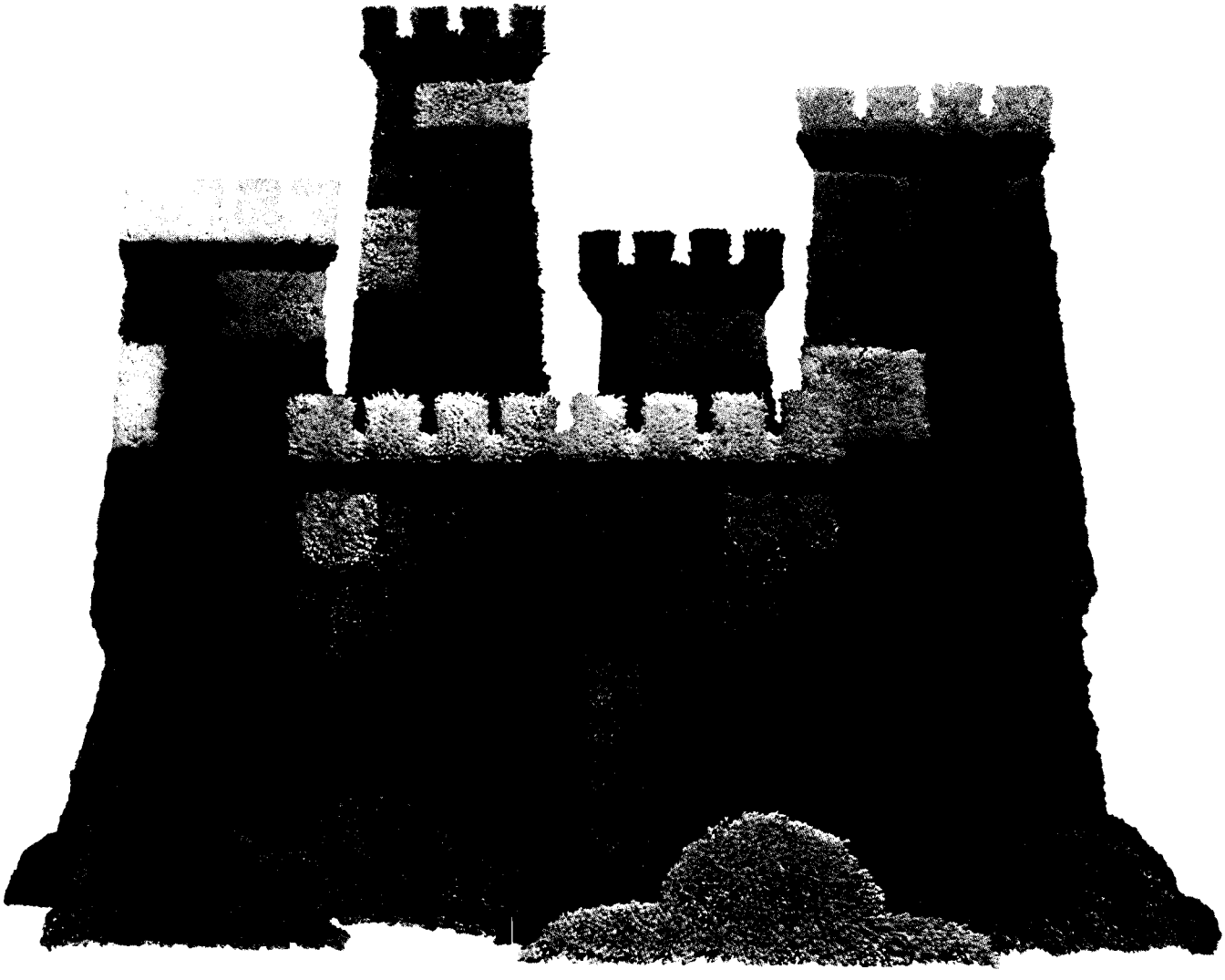

Color Palace II.

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What a beautiful way to do business! A new collection of 50 shimmering colors. In silky Anso® Soft-Hand nylon plush. Carpeting so good it's backed up for five full years by the industry's strongest wear guarantee. But that's not all.

Color Palace II is more than just great, new carpeting. It's also a package of great, new selling aids that will help you make more sales more easily than ever before.

First of all, there's our high-visibility feature display. It makes Color Palace II easy to see, easy to sell. Then, for fall, we have other eye-catching displays. Attractive streamers. Hard-hitting mats. And convincing consumer literature.

For details about what our Fall Jubilee promotion can do for you, talk to your Milliken man. He can give you a wealth of information about Color Palace II.

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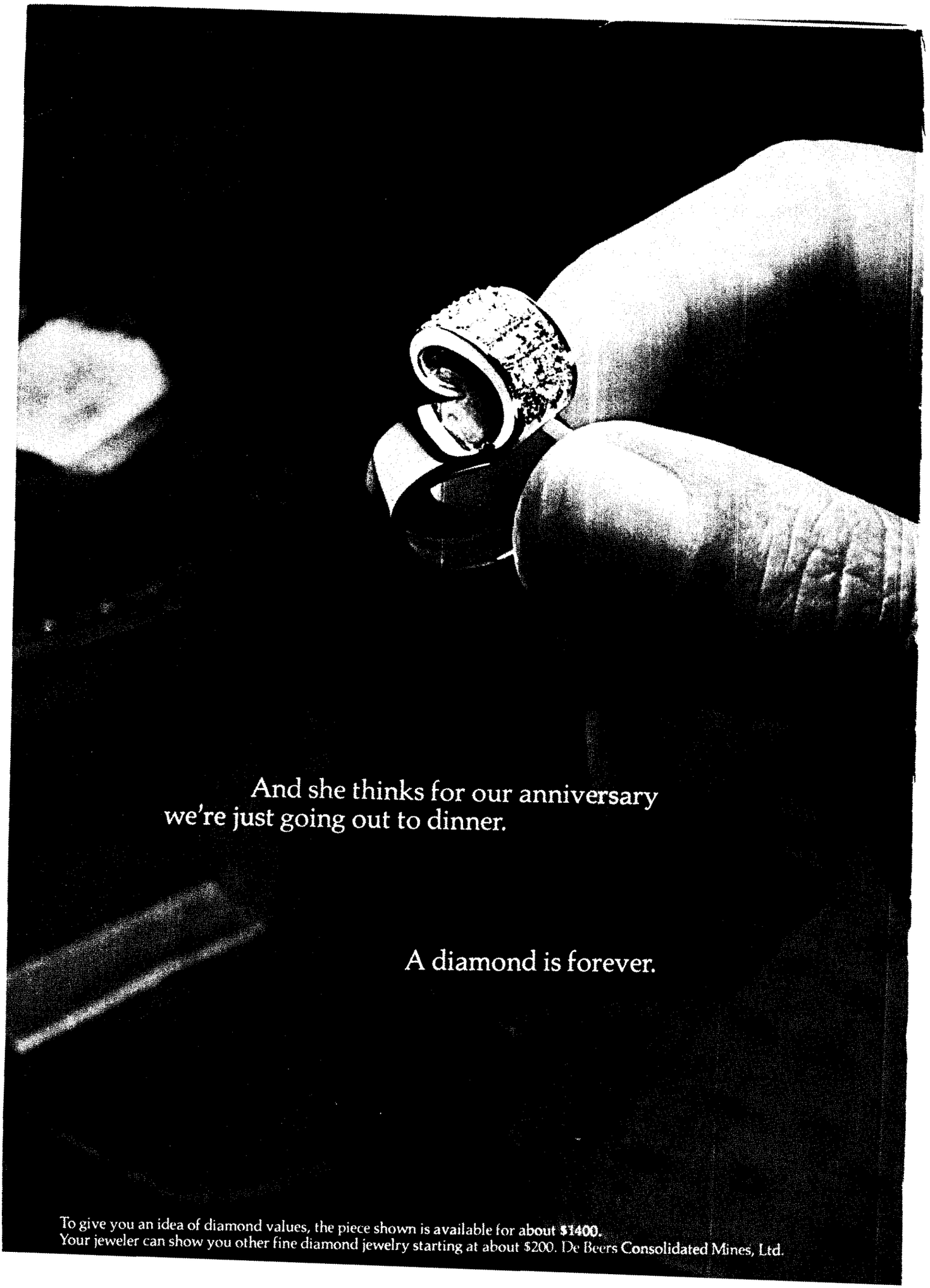
And she thinks for our anniversary
we're just going out to dinner.
A diamond is forever.
To give you an idea of diamond values, the piece shown is available for about $1400.
Your jeweler can show you other fine diamond jewelry starting at about $200. De Beers Consolidated Mines, Ltd.

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